No. 282 / AUGUST 1996

THE NI
NEW INTERNATIONALIST

Rush to punishment

Criminal justice on trial

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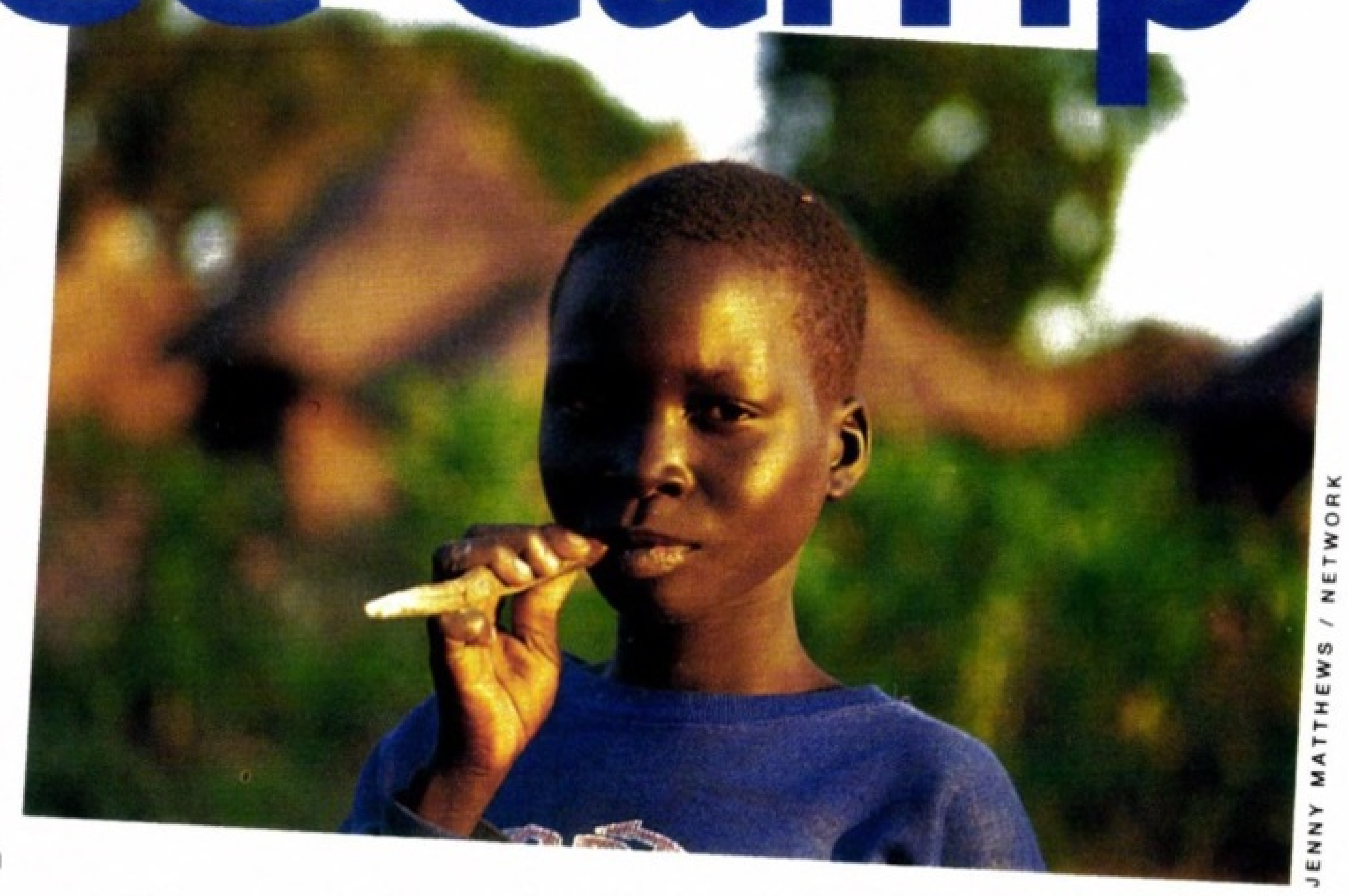
COMING NEXT MONTH

A day in the life of a refugee camp


JENNY MATTHEWS / NETWORK

Our images of refugees, particularly in Africa, are conditioned by the seas of despairing faces that we see on our television screens, but what is life really like for the thousands of refugees forced from their homes each year?

The **NI** visits Ikafe, a settlement for Sudanese refugees in northern Uganda, and talks to people there about their hopes, their fears – and their dreams.

- **In the beginning was the bush** What happens when the refugees arrive…
- **Radios, rebels and clean shirts** Where there are refugees, there is also likely to be conflict. And conflict spells trouble…
- **Changing times** How exile means abandoning all that you have achieved back home and starting over again.
- **Alice's restaurant** Generosity, both of heart and of hand, from those who have nothing.
- **School's out** Education, and particularly English education, is seen by many refugees as the only way out of their current situation.
- **Survival strategies** Food distribution looks chaotic but is really very systematic – and very sweaty.
- **Friends – and enemies** The arrival of refugees in a poor area can lead to high expectations from the locals. But what happens if these are not met?
- **Delivering dreams** Refugees are traditionally seen and hopeless and helpless. Is this true, and if so, can it be changed? How much control can they have over their own affairs?

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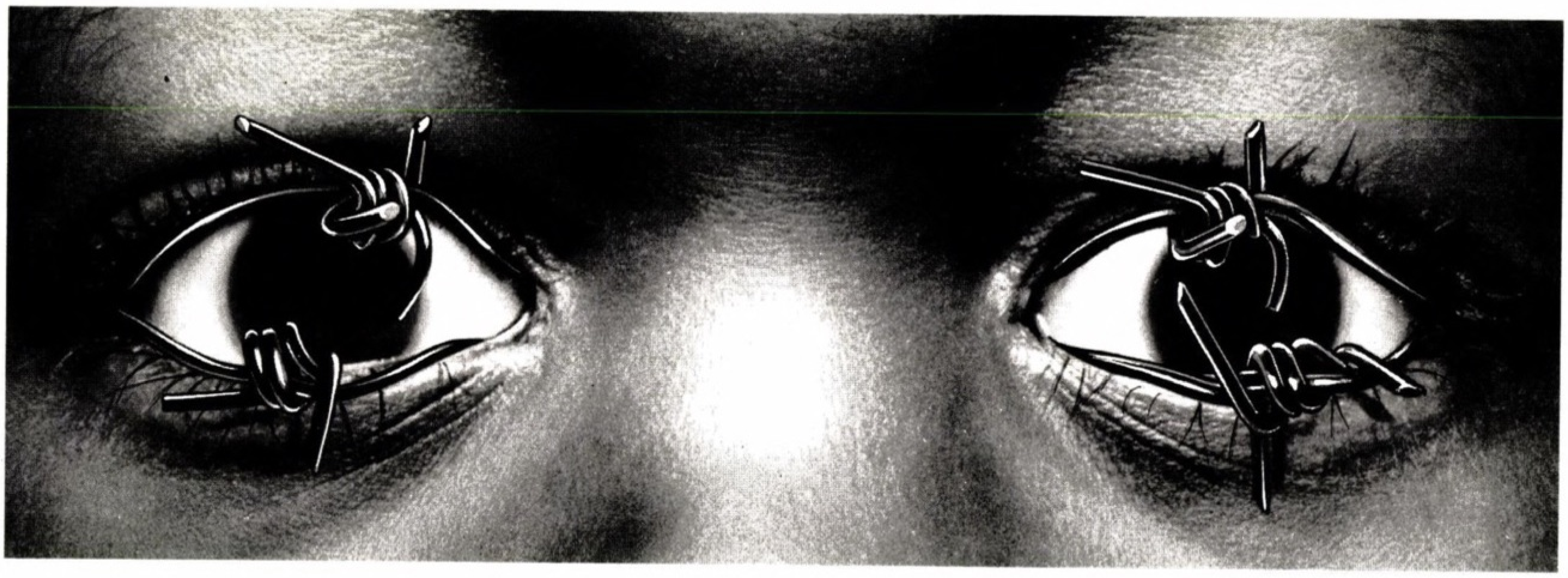

Blinking Hell

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And that's all it takes to spread trachoma.

You only notice there's something wrong when the child's eye starts to itch and swell up

It's not terribly nice but it's bearable, and the infection will 'burn' itself out after a few weeks, leaving just a small scar on the eyelid.

The trouble is, it'll be back. And it won't just come back once. It will strike over and over again, with every reinfection burning and scarring the child's eyelids a little bit more.

In the end, after years of suffering, the eyelids become so scarred and disfigured that the eyelashes turn inwards, into the eye. Until, agonisingly slowly, you go blind.

Imagine, every time you blink, you scratch your eyes

Think about it. You've probably blinked a dozen times since you started reading this. What if you'd scratched your eyes every time? You'd be in agony and you'd be desperately trying to stop. But how do you stop blinking?

You may never even have heard of trachoma before, but 6 million people in the developing world are blind because of it. And millions more are carrying the infection. It makes life impossible for young mothers trying to raise children. Fathers and husbands can't work to support themselves, let alone their families. So the whole family suffers.

The utterly horrifying thing is, this suffering is totally unnecessary, because trachoma can be treated very quickly and cheaply in its early stages with Tetracycline ointment.

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But this is still too much for many people in the developing world, which is why we're asking you to help.

With £12 you can help relieve the suffering of ten young people with trachoma.

You can even help with the more advanced cases. £5 is all we need for the operation to turn back the ingrowing eyelashes, so they stop scratching the eye. A donation of £50 will help save the sight and relieve the suffering of ten more people.

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MAGAZINE DESIGNED BY **IAN NIXON**

THIS MONTH'S **THEME**

Criminal Justice

FROM THIS MONTH'S **EDITOR**

When the **NI** deals with global issues in a fractured world it can uncover some strange anomalies. For example our relative wealth in the North enables us to imprison far more of our (usually poor) citizens than is even conceivable for the resource-starved South. Unfortunately this does not mean a more benign approach to criminal justice in Lima or Lagos – where police act like occupying armies and summary execution of the marginalized is a constant hazard.

While this issue on criminal justice explores matters relating to prison and police in the South, it concentrates on the causes and consequences of the growing system of mass incarceration, led most dramatically by the US. The fact that we can squander valuable resources – to say nothing of people – is just one of the many 'benefits' of development that the South might do better not to imitate.

One becomes slightly obsessive about the theme of the **NI** issue under construction: discussions and sometimes arguments with one's friends seem an inevitable consequence. What to do with criminals has proved a particularly hot topic. When you say something critical about the prison system it is almost automatically assumed that you want to let loose the vilest of murderers and sexual predators on the innocent community. There are few who would advocate such a course. The fact is that the vast majority of those in prison are there for non-violent, often quite minor offences. Many are in for victimless crimes or for violating highly questionable laws. To reduce them all to contract killers or the Peter Sutcliffes (the Yorkshire Ripper) or Paul Bernardos (Ontario's butcher of teenage girls) of this world makes absolutely no sense. Yet I have found the emotion generated by the horror of such crimes can blind even the most thoughtful.

For this issue I felt it necessary – but found it quite difficult – to get into prison to talk to inmates. Odd, considering the difficulty that some have in getting out and staying out. I ended up spending several weeks waiting for a lock-down to end to get into a Canadian penitentiary. My first attempt involved the Florida Department of Corrections (DOC) in Tallahassee. I was informed by a syrupy Southern voice that an investigative visit was unlikely to be allowed but that I could certainly go and visit a prisoner. To their surprise I came up with one, Gerald Niles, held in the Columbia Correctional Institute in Lake City. The voice checked the computer and then informed me that it was unlikely that I could visit Niles because he was under 'close management'. A subsequent phone call confirmed this. My curiosity was provoked, so I decided to communicate with Niles by mail. He described to me the experience of close management, concluding that 'Florida DOC is especially bad about trying to govern every moment of every life it holds captive. They encounter natural resistance that is impossible to squash. So why even try in the first place'? That 'why?' needs to be addressed to the entire system of mass incarceration.

Special greetings to those **NI** readers currently incarcerated – please pass this along to a fellow inmate.

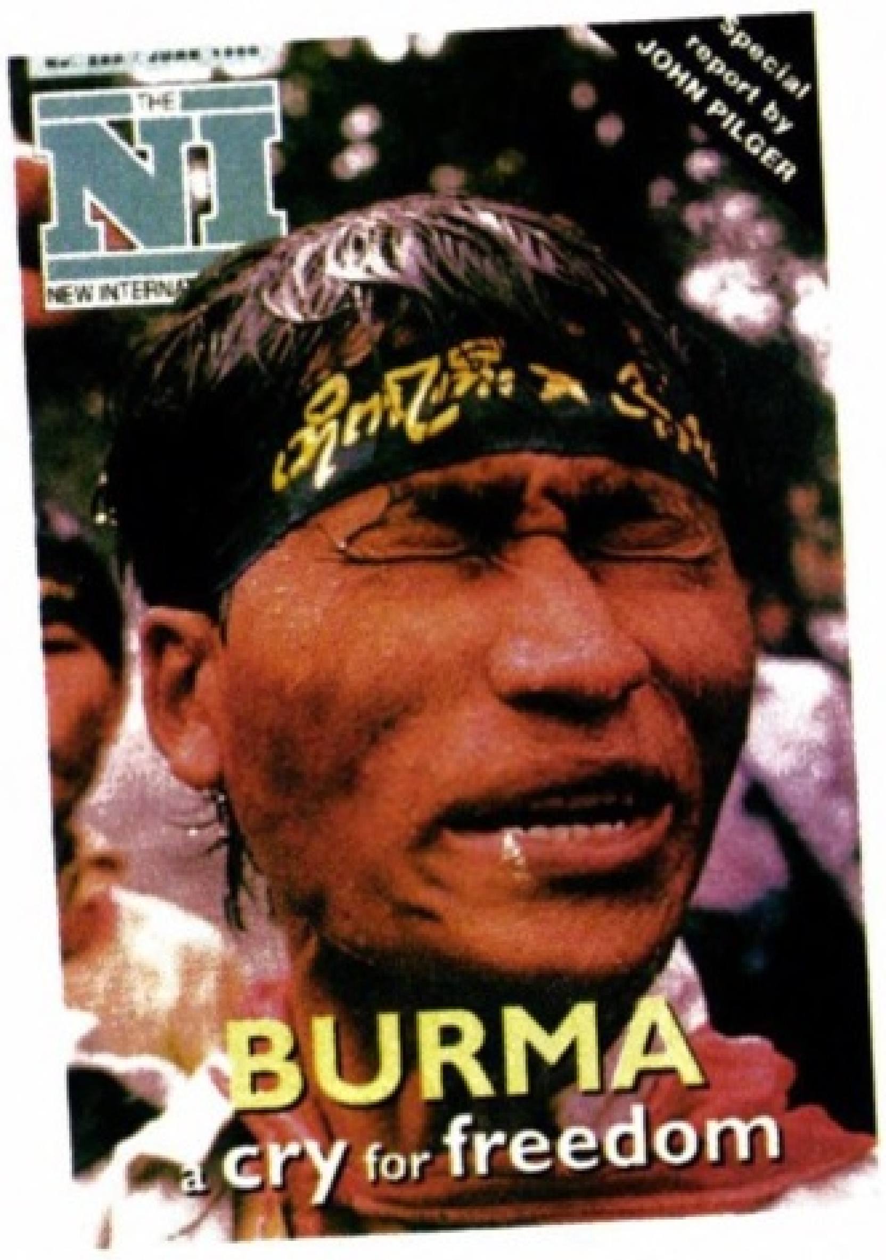
Richard Swift
for the ***New Internationalist*** *Co-operative*

Letters

The **New Internationalist** welcomes your letters. But please keep them short. They may be edited for purposes of space or clarity. Include a home telephone number if possible and send your letters to the nearest editorial office. The address and e-mail is inside the front cover.

Protest

The June issue on ***Burma*** (**NI 280**) was very moving. But in the action column there was no mention of the Burmese Embassy in London or Chargé d'Affairs where we might send letters of protest about the terrible situation in the country. Was this an omission? Can it be rectified?



Margaret Collins
Paisley, Scotland

Please write to: The Ambassador, U-Hla-Maung, Burmese Embassy, 19A Charles Street, London W1X 8ER

Role of religion

On reading your issue on ***Burma*** (**NI 280**) I wondered if there was something about the Buddhist religion that helps an authoritarian government rule?

Historically, religion has often been used to keep people compliant. I think your writers should examine the role of religion when they write about Third World countries.

George Goldberg
Toronto, Canada

Population control

I believe that the issue of population control was not stressed enough in your issue on ***Green Economics*** (**NI 278**). If the population is growing such that it will double in the next 35 years, why isn't anyone taking steps NOW to stop the 'people scourge' destroying the planet?

I agree that slowing down growth is a major step towards 'greening the globe' but that won't help anyone if there are 10 billion mouths to feed and twice as much refuse to dispose of.

Simon Edwards
Townsville, Australia

Letter from Nestlé

I refer to the letter you published from Dr Orskov (**NI 279**) concerning the activities of Nestlé in Sri Lanka. Your readers may be interested in the factual position:

1) Nestlé Sri Lanka does not now import whole milk powder for retail sale from Europe, New Zealand or Australia.

2) Approximately 50 per cent of the milk collected from the National Grid is used exclusively by Nestlé in Sri Lanka to manufacture Nespray Full Cream Milk Powder and Milkmaid Sweetened Condensed Milk.

3) The price paid to the farmers in Sri Lanka is higher than the price per litre paid in New Zealand and Australia.

4) Milk prices are not determined or totally controlled by Nestlé Sri Lanka. On the contrary, the price paid to the local farmers is determined by the Government of Sri Lanka. Moreover, 80 per cent of the total milk-powder market is controlled by the New Zealand Dairy Board through their Anchor brand and Lakspray from the EC countries. The local processors of fresh milk and Nestlé have just 20 per cent of the market.

5) Milk collection doubled between 1984 and 1995. This can be attributed to Nestlé's activities.

Ralph Clayden
Nestlé UK Ltd, Croydon, England

Jewel in the crown

Whilst I am sure that Lorna Reay's article (*Update* **NI 278**) does reflect the situation in parts of Uganda, I found it unduly pessimistic. There is much poverty and the debt burden is making the work of the Government difficult as they seek to bring about improvements in the living standards of the people. But much of the country is fertile and the people have a willingness to look to the future. There are problems in Uganda, but there is also great potential and hope for the future. Uganda and its people could be the jewel in the crown of East Africa.

Alan Hardstaff
Worksop, England

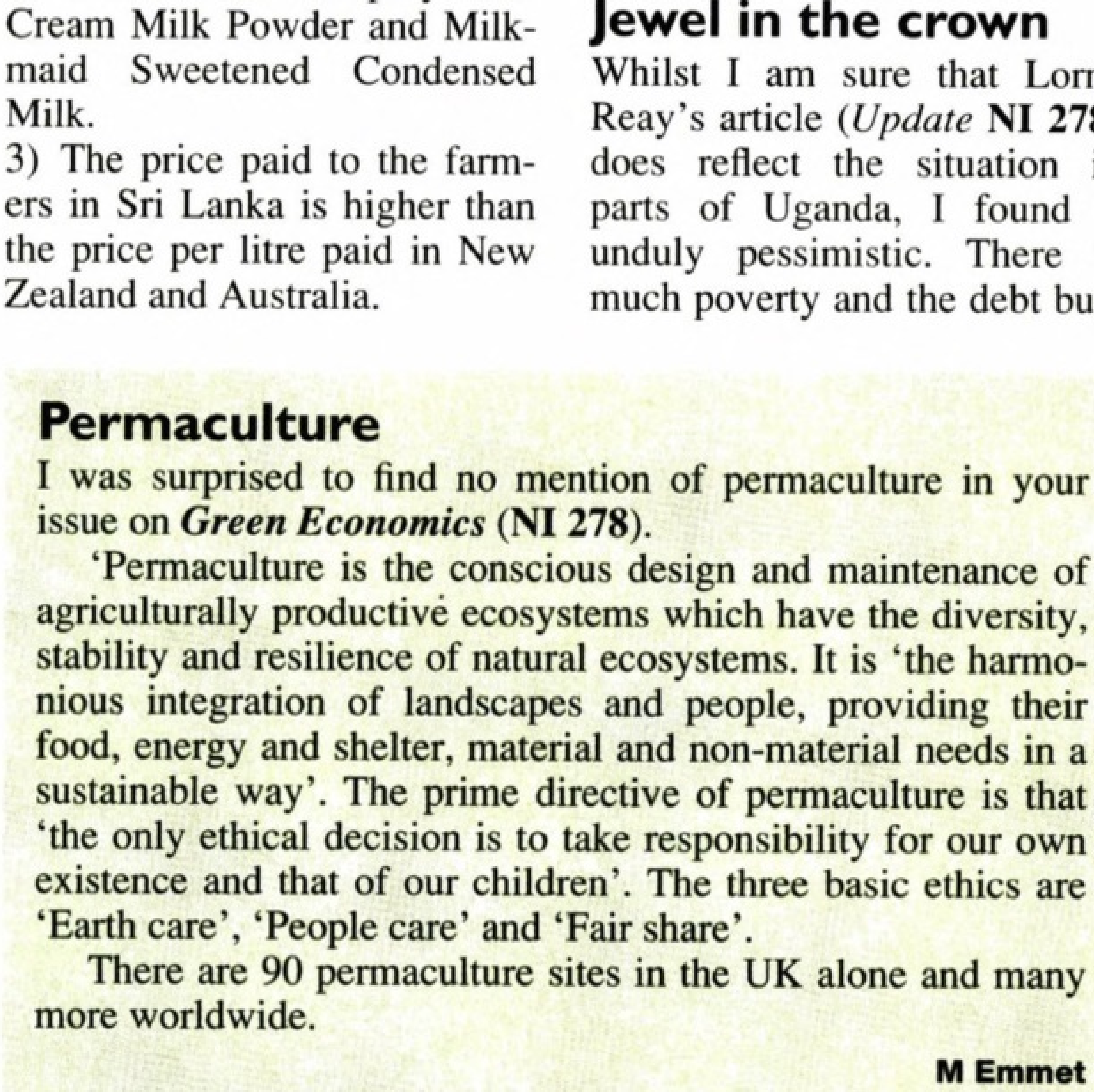
Permaculture

I was surprised to find no mention of permaculture in your issue on ***Green Economics*** (**NI 278**).

'Permaculture is the conscious design and maintenance of agriculturally productive ecosystems which have the diversity, stability and resilience of natural ecosystems. It is 'the harmonious integration of landscapes and people, providing their food, energy and shelter, material and non-material needs in a sustainable way'. The prime directive of permaculture is that 'the only ethical decision is to take responsibility for our own existence and that of our children'. The three basic ethics are 'Earth care', 'People care' and 'Fair share'.

There are 90 permaculture sites in the UK alone and many more worldwide.

M Emmet
Plymouth, England



VIV QUILLIN

Islam and nationalism

With regard to your issue on ***Nationalism*** (**NI 277**), it is one of those erroneous concepts which was innovated by European colonialists and then exported to their subordinates. I agree with Eric Hobsbawn who wrote that 'the world of the next century will be largely supranational'. I believe one of those Super-States will arise in the Muslim world very soon called the *Khilafah*, the Ruling system of Islam.

Islam condemns nationalism vehemently. The Prophet Mohammed said: 'He is not one of us who calls for *asabiyyah* (nationalism) or who fights or dies for it. He also said: 'He who calls for nationalism is as if he bit his father's genitals.'

I get a feeling that this letter will not get published. I hope I am wrong.

Saleh Ahmed
London, England

Inaccuracies

I refer to the letter you printed in **NI 276** about China and Tibet, which seems to contain a number of inaccuracies and oversimplifications. Its 'cruel feudal past' was not the reason China annexed Tibet in the 1950s. It was purely brutal and macho expansionism on the part of Beijing. China has never had sovereignty over Tibet. China's behaviour in Tibet has featured systematic genocide. What your reader calls 'Tibetan separatists' are just Tibetan people who want Tibetan land given back to them. And finally, it is both cruel and unfair to create hatred against the Dalai Lama, who has tried his best to win peace in a very difficult position.

Peter Morrell
Stafford, England

Human links

I would like to urge **NI** readers to make efforts to develop human connections, person-to-person, with others round the world. My own contacts in Russia, Vietnam and Israel have changed my relationship to that part of the world. When something happens in those countries, I have a human link that touches my feelings. I don't experience 'compassion fatigue' (a phrase I abhor).

A passage I read recently in a book by Robin Norwood runs: 'How can they feel our love if we cannot feel their pain?' Sometimes we need to be hurt into action. Our humanity, our common humanity, holds the key to change for the better in a troubled world.

Richard Bryant-Jefferies
Guildford, England

Linguistic research

I'm researching and compiling information about linguistics and phonetics of the English language. I am interested in material on all aspects of this. If anyone has any information please write to me at Calle 11 Norte #2013, Banes, Holguin, Cuba CP 82300.

Arnoldo Gómez Hdz
Holguin, Cuba

Many readers will already know that the NI co-operative holds a meeting every autumn to decide on the subjects we will cover over the following year. We welcome ideas from readers (one paragraph per topic only please!) to feed into the discussion. If you do have an idea for an NI magazine, please write to Nikki van der Gaag, NI, 55 Rectory Road, Oxford OX4 1EU by the end of September. Thank you!

The views expressed on the letters page are not necessarily those of the New Internationalist.

LETTER FROM RUSSIA

The future is rising

Olivia Ward visits a state farm and finds things haven't changed since Soviet times – or have they?

PINK petticoats are flying and the gold-threaded felt coats of the men raise dust as they dip and swing to rollicking folk tunes.

It's the perfect Middle Russian scene: happy peasants dancing and singing while a benevolent farm boss looks down on them, beaming, from the steps above.

It is also the perfect vision of how things work in Russia, how they have always worked, and how, regardless of politics, they are changing against all odds.

'Of course you turn out and support the administration, whoever they are,' chuckled elderly Fama through her few remaining teeth. 'A boss is a boss'.

Yet a few metres away from her, on the fringes of the crowd gathered for the state farm's rally, were younger people who were less amused.

'You couldn't say things are ideal here,' said Grisha, who looked nervously over his shoulder as he gave me his first name and withheld his last. 'People try to make you fall into line. They want you to believe their lies. They try to force you to vote their way.'

As he spoke a clean-cut young man with short blonde hair elbowed his way toward us, smiling purposefully as he kept my tape-recorder in his sights.

'Things have never been better for us,' he enunciated clearly for the benefit of my readers. 'We have lots of housing, good food to eat, whatever we need to live. Nobody should complain.'

Grisha got the point and moved away, glowering. As I followed him, a few weary dancers, plump women with the strong calves of dairymaids, watched my investigations with interest.

'Why are you interested in our views?' said one. 'We're not here because we are political enthusiasts. We wouldn't be here at all if we weren't told to come and perform. All of us are in the same boat.'

Life simply went on as it always had, she said. As for freedom, who needed it when there wasn't much to do with it?

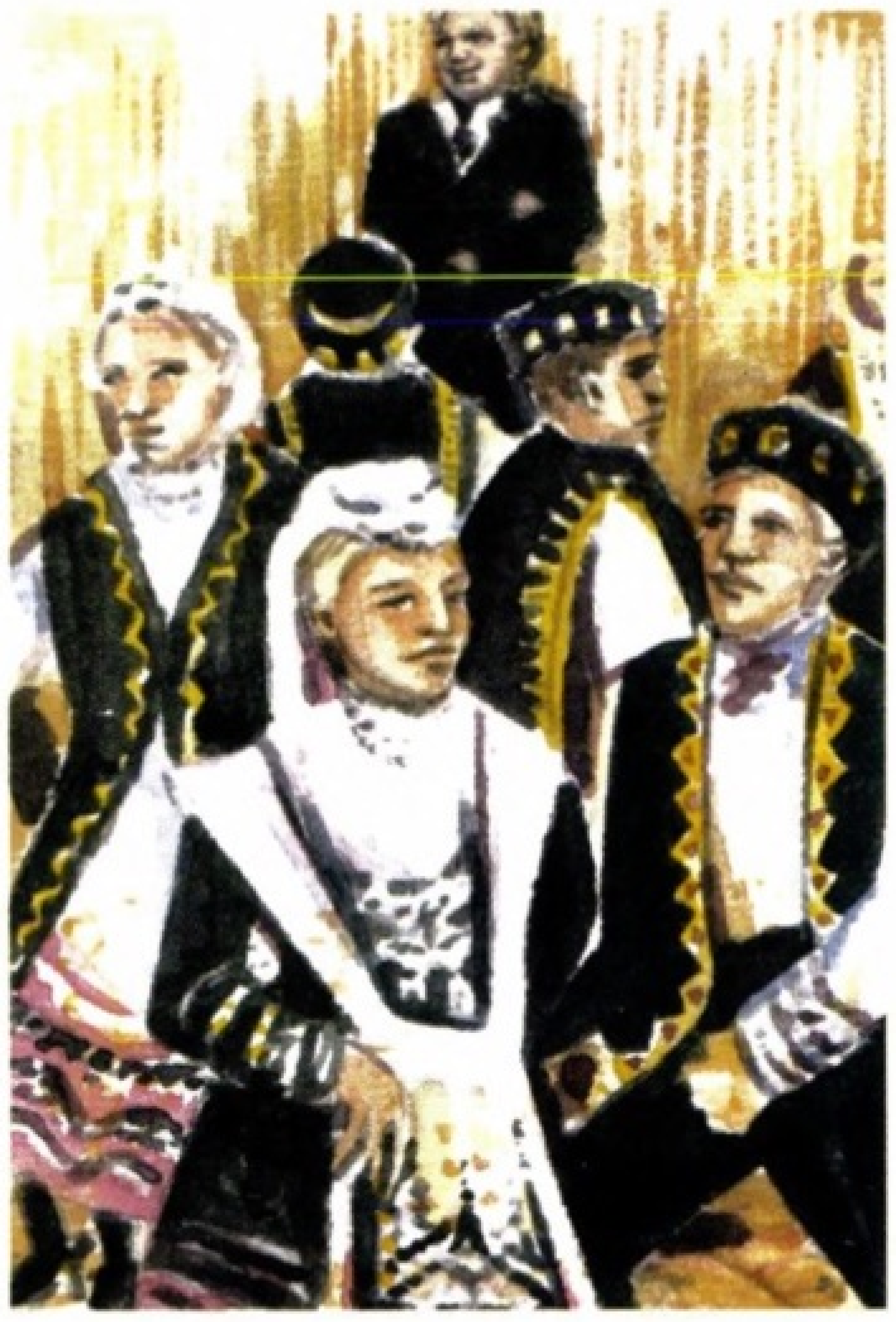
But even as the Russians disparage their newfound freedom – which has little to do with the democracy that is still an illusion – they are quietly, gradually, absorbing this freedom into their pores. It's from this small personal reservoir few even acknowledge, that the future is rising.

'In the old Soviet days we'd be lined up like cattle and given our orders,' chuckled Vladimir, an oil worker. 'Support X for head of the co-op, put your mark there. A bottle of vodka would go with it, or maybe a bit of meat. We'd all obey.'

Now, he said, that's all finished for most people. In five short years the dictates of decades have vanished like invisible writing. It was the industrial bosses and their bosses in local government and the bosses of the bosses in Moscow who carried on as though nothing at all had happened.

They, seemingly, were the last to get the joke.

'Tell me to do something and I'll go out and do the opposite,' said the ebullient Vladimir. 'I don't know who they think they're impressing these days.'


MIRIAM McCURDY

Fear and control still remain, of course: for the refinery workers, whose perks and work hours depend on the co-operation of authority; and the farmers who wait in frustration for handouts of housing. They still turn out on parade when asked, tug their forelocks and give their superiors a tight-lipped smile.

For centuries Russians have not known freedom, either in the days of the Tsars or of their Soviet successors. Now many rank it with licence, banditry, rampant crime. They mutter about the need for order, and have deep-seated anxiety about anarchy which can only be smothered by a strong hand.

But here, even in a sleepy provincial town, I can see the strength of the opposite pull in this constant tug-of-war between two fears – one of oblivion, the other of authoritarianism.

Young people stroll through the leafy, dandelion-strewn park smoking foreign cigarettes and kissing passionately on benches.

Their parents, wearing the generic uniforms of any Western city, window-shop and bargain. It is only the old, disenfranchised and without a future, who appear like spectres, their presence shadowy and fading.

A few kilometres away on the state farm, the director is still grinning at the crowd and the band plays on with its feigned gaiety. Some of the dancers are not dancing. Some are edging away. ■

Olivia Ward is bureau chief for the *Toronto Star* in Moscow.

Update

UNITED NATIONS

The forgotten people

Western Saharans may have to revert to war

THE UN is abandoning its mission to end the war in Western Sahara. UN civilians pulled out on 31 May, leaving a token presence of 200 military observers who may also pull out by 31 December. It is a bitter blow to the Saharawi people's hope for a peaceful and democratic end to over 20 years of war with Morocco's occupying army.

The UN Peace Plan, which was negotiated with Morocco's King Hassan and Polisario, which since 1973 has led Saharawi resistance, was formally adopted by the Security Council in April 1991 and was heralded as a great success for UN diplomacy. Polisario seemed to have won its great prize of a referendum on independence or the incorporation of the territory into Morocco.

But Morocco impeded the Peace Plan from the start. In August 1991 Morocco sent armoured columns and launched air strikes against Polisario-held towns in Western Sahara and the UN has since recorded hundreds of violations of the ceasefire.

Morocco has also refortified its major asset – the 2,500-kilometre wall that encloses three-quarters of the territory which was constructed with US military advice and is equipped with sophisticated French and US surveillance technology. The wall transformed what was once a guerrilla war – which Morocco was on the point of losing – into a war of attrition. Saharawis trapped within the walled area have no possibility of protest – 500 have been 'disappeared' by the Moroccan state, according to Amnesty International's records.

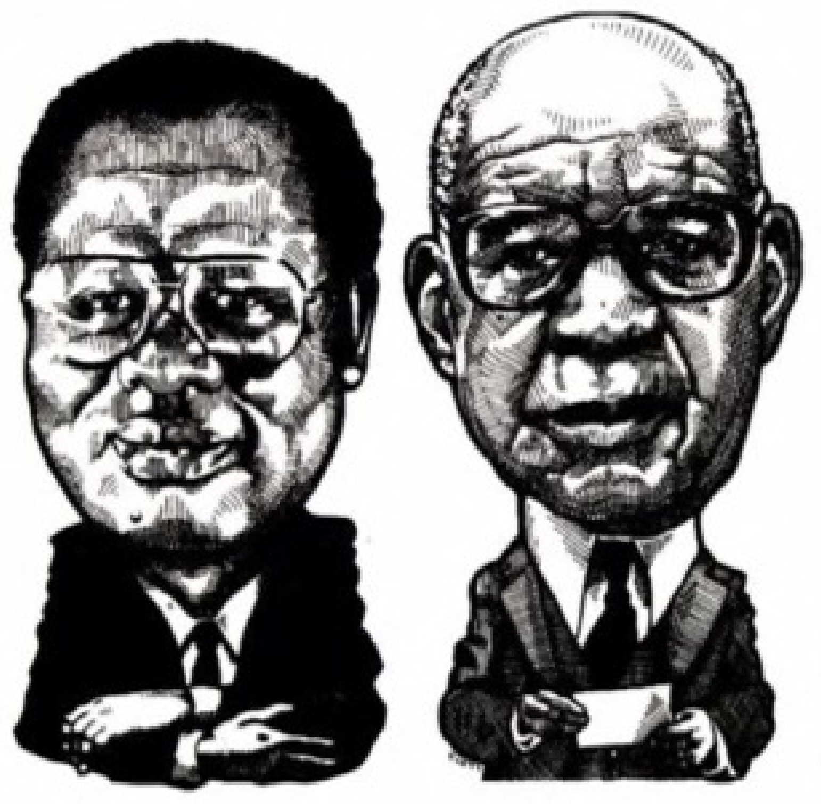
The referendum will not now happen – King Hassan has successfully ensnarled the UN in the technicalities of endless renegotiation of the Peace Plan, avoiding diplomatic wrangles with Western friends who have continued to aid his regime.

Meanwhile the Saharawi people are further from a settlement of their legitimate claim than they were before the Peace Plan. Polisario will inevitably again take up arms. ■

Malcolm Lewis

M LEWIS

The cannons come out of cold storage – the long-suffering Saharawi people have been forced back to war.



GEMINI

Men of note...

President Bakili Muluzi of Malawi has put his reputation on the line by putting his face on the currency. Muluzi condemned deposed 'President-for-life' Hastings Kamuzu Banda's personality cult, which eclipsed other Malawian historical figures and encouraged people to believe that Banda was the beginning and end of the country's history. Cabinet decided to swap portraits on the currency because they thought many of the country's estimated 7.7 million illiterate people might think Banda was still in power. However, critics say that Muluzi has succumbed to the trappings of office and the Malawi Parliament has resolved that future currency notes will not bear the images of living leaders.

Akwete Sande, Patrick Mwanza and Angels Mtukulo / Gemini

Genocide decree

Brazilian indigenous organizations and their supporters in Europe have launched an urgent international campaign against Decree 1775 (passed into law this January) which gives loggers, miners, cattle ranchers and settlers the right to challenge indigenous land-rights. This new decree has been described as 'sure genocide' by over 300 Indian leaders. They have called for suspension of credit and financial aid to Brazil. The European Parliament has issued resolutions condemning the decree.

As a direct result of the decree, territories have been invaded and mounting tension between Indians and invaders is likely to result in violence. The decree will have a devastating impact on Indian groups like the Guarani (Brazil's second largest indigenous group) who have already been forced off much of their land onto reserves totalling less than one per cent of their historical land. A wave of suicides, even of children as young as nine or ten, is destroying the community. The Guarani are living in squalid new villages with endemic tuberculosis and malnutrition. Many have been forced to work in nearby distilleries or as prostitutes.

Christian Aid

Baby food

Hot on the heels of Mad Cow Disease come revelations from Zurich that human placentas from hospitals in Switzerland have been turned into animal feed since the 1960s. Last year in Zurich alone 820 kilos of placentas from the Red Cross Hospital and the Nursing School were mixed in with dead pets to be made into animal feed. Though placentas cannot contaminate the feed, the ethical outrage following the revelations has led to a halt in the practice. Placentas are now incinerated with other human remains.

New Scientist, Vol 150 No 2029

Ethical enthusiasm

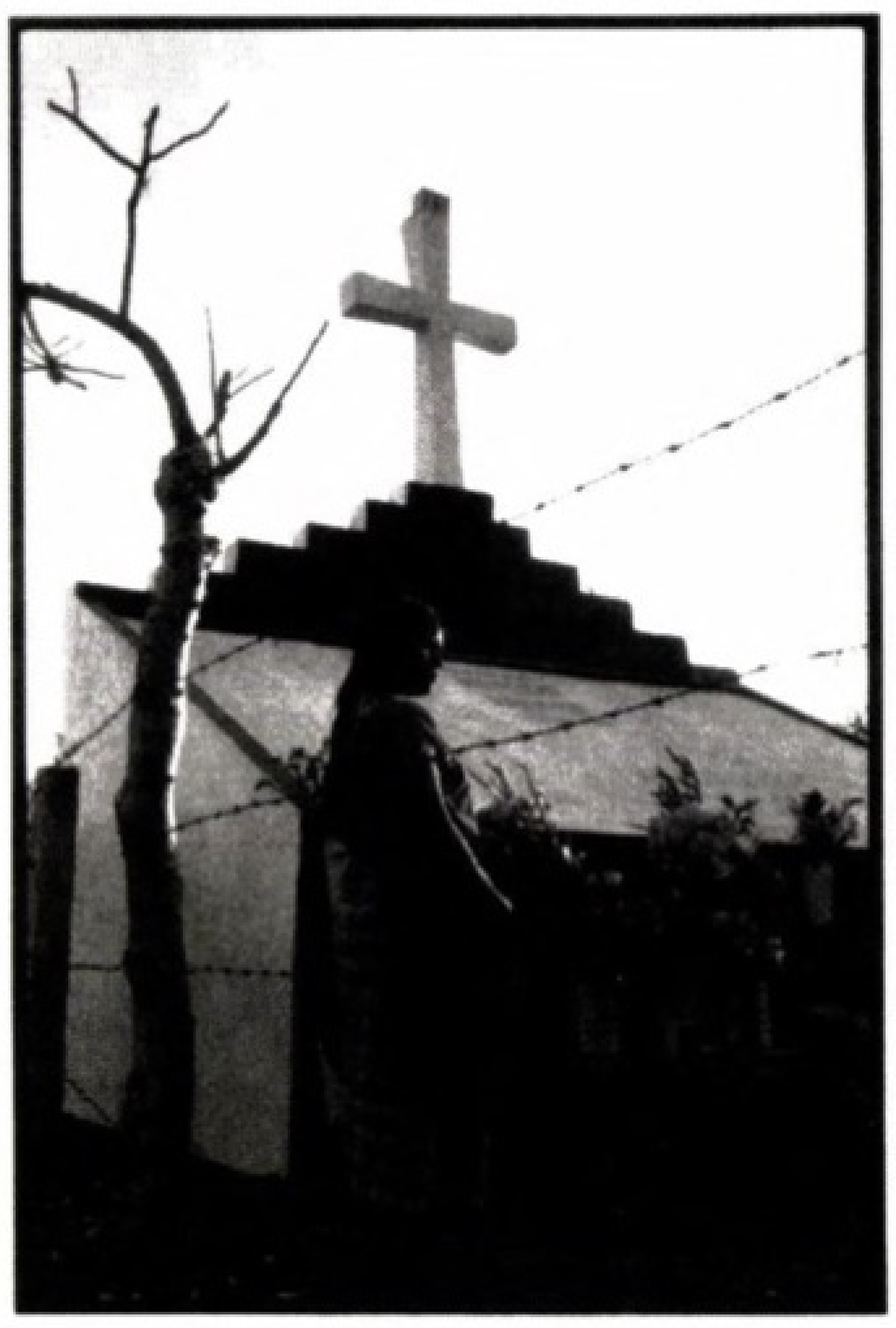
A recent British survey showed a staggering 49 per cent of people said they would be interested in ethical investment. This figure is up from 33 per cent last year. Even though only 21 per cent knew what the term meant when asked initially, 91 per cent felt that investment companies should do more to make people aware of ethical investment.

Friends Provident

HUMAN RIGHTS

Dam of blood

Guatemalan massacres and World Bank funding



WFP

BETWEEN 1980 and 1982 some 376 people resisting eviction from their village of Río Negro in Guatemala were massacred so that the construction of Chixoy Reservoir and Dam could go ahead. After years of living in fear the survivors are now beginning to speak.

The campaign of terror against the indigenous Maya Achi community of Río Negro began in early 1980 after the villagers refused to move to the cramped houses and poor land at the resettlement site provided by the Guatemalan power utility INDE. Most of the killings took place in 1982, with the majority of the victims being women and children. Human-rights group Witness for Peace has recorded this testimony from a survivor: 'They were strangling many of the women by putting ropes around their necks and twisting the ropes with sticks. The patrollers killed the children by tying ropes around their ankles and swinging them, smashing their heads and bodies into rocks and trees.' Many villagers believe INDE encouraged the violence so that their officials could pocket compensation payments due to the villagers.

However, Chixoy was not just a human-rights disaster. Geological problems caused the total cost to soar to $1.2 billion, over six times as much as first estimated. The Dam opened in 1983, but closed for repairs after just five months. It restarted two years later but has been plagued with technical problems and a shortage of water in its reservoir. The World Bank has termed it 'an unwise and uneconomic disaster'.

Strong words, especially as the World Bank lent $72 million for the Dam in 1978 and another $45 million in 1985. The Inter-American Development Bank lent $105 million in 1975 and a further $70 million in 1981. The banks appear to have turned a blind eye to the massacres (which were common knowledge to people in the region) and to have refused to acknowledge them, though nine World Bank missions visited the Dam in the years following the massacres.

According to Witness for Peace, 'If the Bank knew about the massacres, then giving an additional loan to the project was at best a calculated cover-up, at worst an act of complicity in the violence. If the Bank did not know about the slaughter, then it was guilty of gross negligence. Either way, the Bank is implicated in the horrors perpetrated against the village of Río Negro in 1982.' Witness for Peace and the US-based International Rivers Network are calling for an investigation into World Bank involvement in the project. ■

Compiled from information supplied by International Rivers Network (Fax +1 510 848 1008; E-mail irn@igc.apc.org) and Witness for Peace

Bottle record

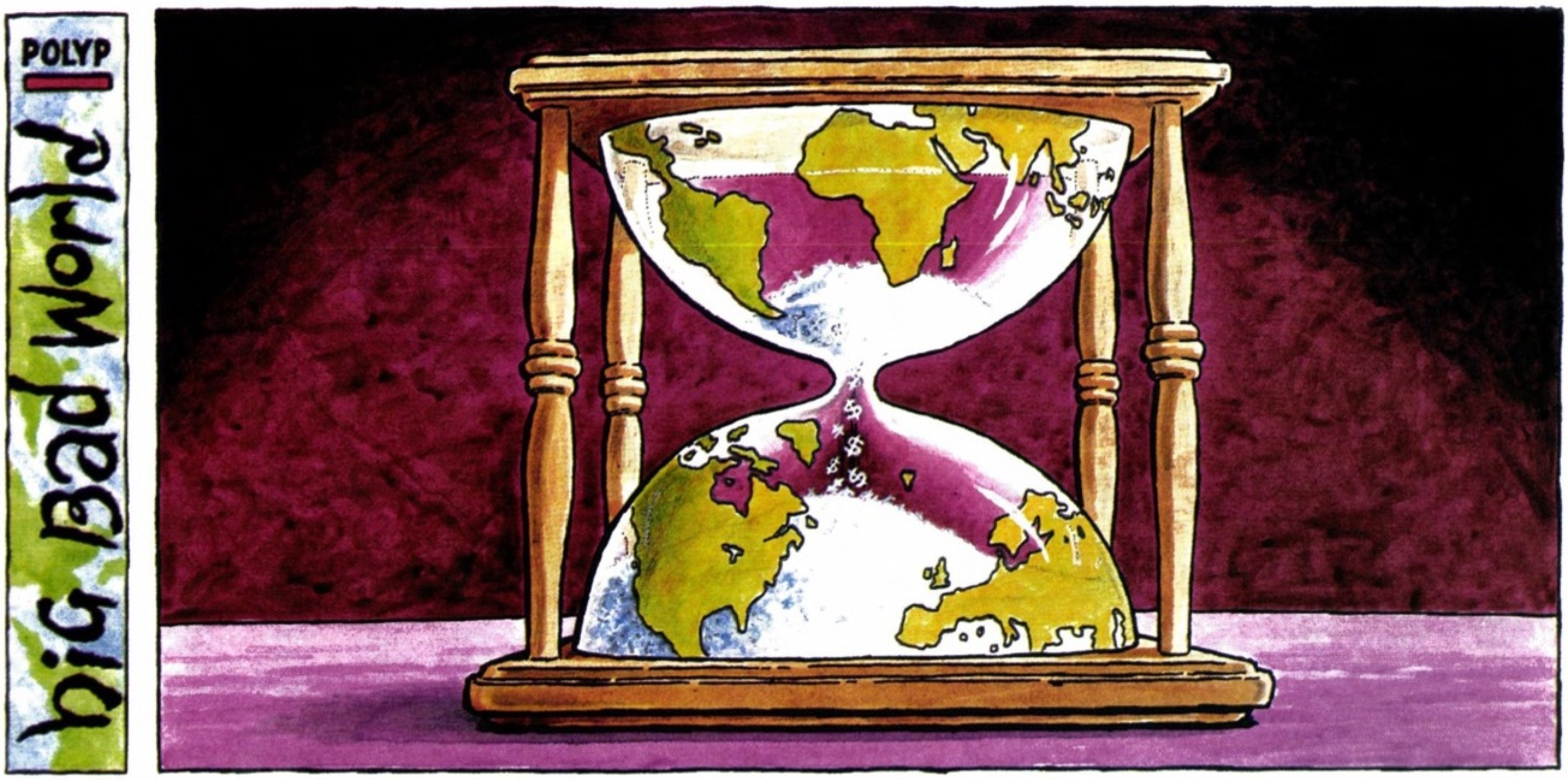
Though recycling placentas may be going a bit far, Switzerland claims to have the most effective waste-management systems in the Western world. Last year a record 84.9-per-cent recycling rate was achieved for glass, up by 8.6 per cent on 1994 levels.

Warmer Bulletin, No 49

Conscious killers

Patients undergoing surgery for cancer might improve their chances of a full recovery if they remain conscious during the operation, says Walter Koltun, a surgeon from Pennsylvania in the US. Analyzing blood samples from patients who had undergone surgery either under general anaesthetic or with an epidural, he found that the former had fewer active natural killer cells than those given the epidural. Surgery to remove tumours often dislodges a few tumour cells, which are carried around the body. Normally, active killer cells would destroy roving tumour cells, but a general anaesthetic suppresses them just when the patient needs them most, says Koltun.

New Scientist, Vol 150 No 2031



Update

MULTINATIONALS

Sticky business

Corporate empires expand – but so does resistance

A THIRD of world trade is composed of just internal transactions within multinational corporations, according to the London-based World Development Movement, which has gathered some eye-popping facts on corporate giants and their generally harmful impact – while also highlighting successful resistance to their global sway.

There were only 7,000 multinationals 25 years ago. Today there are 40,000 and they control 70 per cent of world trade. These multinationals are often wealthier than the countries in which they operate. Shell, the world's most profitable company, has annual sales of £63 billion ($100 billion) – three times the annual income of Nigeria's 100 million people.

JUST SAY "YES"

SARAH MACDONALD

An entire industry the world over can be dominated by a handful of companies – 70 per cent of world trade in wheat is controlled by just six multinationals. Often entire countries can depend upon a single company, even though these companies siphon off profits to their home countries and don't share their technical expertise with local companies.

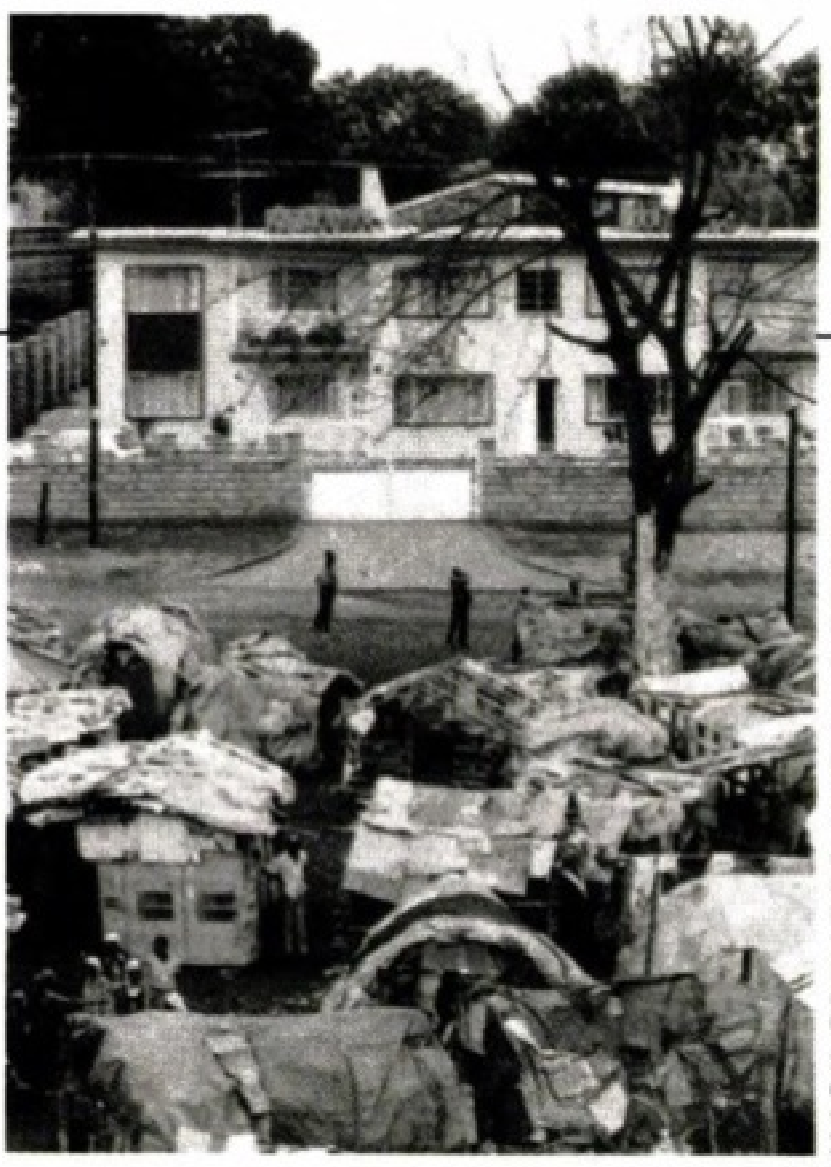
As for job creation – despite controlling over 33 per cent of the world's productive assets, they account for only about 5 per cent of world employment.

Increasingly multinationals control rather than own the production chain and use sub-contractors. Their sprawling reach enables them to show profits in the country with the lowest taxes and to locate production in the country with the lowest wages – which is why transactions within the same company are so significant in terms of global trade.

Despite their increasing size and power, the mega-corporations have not been able to silence protest:

- British Gas was forced to withdraw from oil exploration in the Ecuadorian rainforests by Achuar Indians
- Citizen action persuaded the Philippine Government to ban German multinational Hoechst's harmful pesticides
- Costa Rican banana workers sued Shell in a US court for sterility caused by a pesticide
- Indian farmers waged war against Cargill, the world's largest grain trader, to stop it capturing their seed market
- International protest forced Scott Paper to pull out of a project in Indonesia that would have destroyed forests and displaced tribal people
- Activists around the world campaigned against the destruction of rainforests by Japanese logging giant Mitsubishi
- Nestlé is still the target of a consumer boycott because of its irresponsible marketing of breastmilk substitutes.

Contact World Development Movement at:
25 Beehive Place, London SW9 7QR, England.
Tel: 44 (0)171 737 6215. Fax: 44 (0)171 274 8232.



MARK EDWARDS / STILL PICTURES

One person's hell is another person's reason to fight back...

Look into any shanty settlement outside one of the developing world's booming cities, says the UN Fund for Population Activities' latest report, and you can think that hell has claimed a new outpost. But look closer and you can also discover a wealth of human ingenuity and the determination of a poor community to improve its own conditions. The photo shows how rich and poor housing collide in the Kenyan capital, Nairobi, and the report focuses on the Women's Community Self Help Group in the shantytown of Mathare, on the outskirts of the capital. They have taken responsibility for improving sanitation and reducing the incidence of disease by maintaining and cleaning the two broken-down toilets that service the community while a child-health monitoring project has improved infants' chances of survival. And it has persuaded the previously indolent City Council to provide 15 new water pumps plus land for a new community pharmacy.

Kuwaiti suffragettes

During the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait women formed the backbone of the resistance, risking death and torture to smuggle guns and murder Iraqi soldiers. Crown Prince Sheikh Saad al-Abdullah al-Salem al-Sabah, the country's autocratic ruler, announced from his splendid exile at the Sheraton hotel in Taif, Saudi Arabia: 'You will be equal with men after the war.' But women in Kuwait haven't even got the vote yet. After five fruitless years of talks with male political leaders, Kuwait's suffragettes have started a campaign aimed at winning women the vote in time for elections in October. The women have won support from local newspapers that have agreed to publish petitions supporting their cause.

WIN News, Vol 22 No 2

Thanks a billion

The State Bank of Brazil has a shocking bad-loan ratio of 40 per cent. The majority of the bank's borrowers simply never expected to repay money they borrowed from the Government. A case in point is Orlando Moscoso Baretto de Araújo, a former vice governor of Bahia province. His personal debt grew to $1.1 billion without his paying back a penny or being billed. He went to court to ask that the loans be cancelled as unpayable. The judge not only agreed but also awarded him an additional $3 billion for 'psychological damages'.

World Press Review, Vol 43 No 6

Diagnosis from a distance

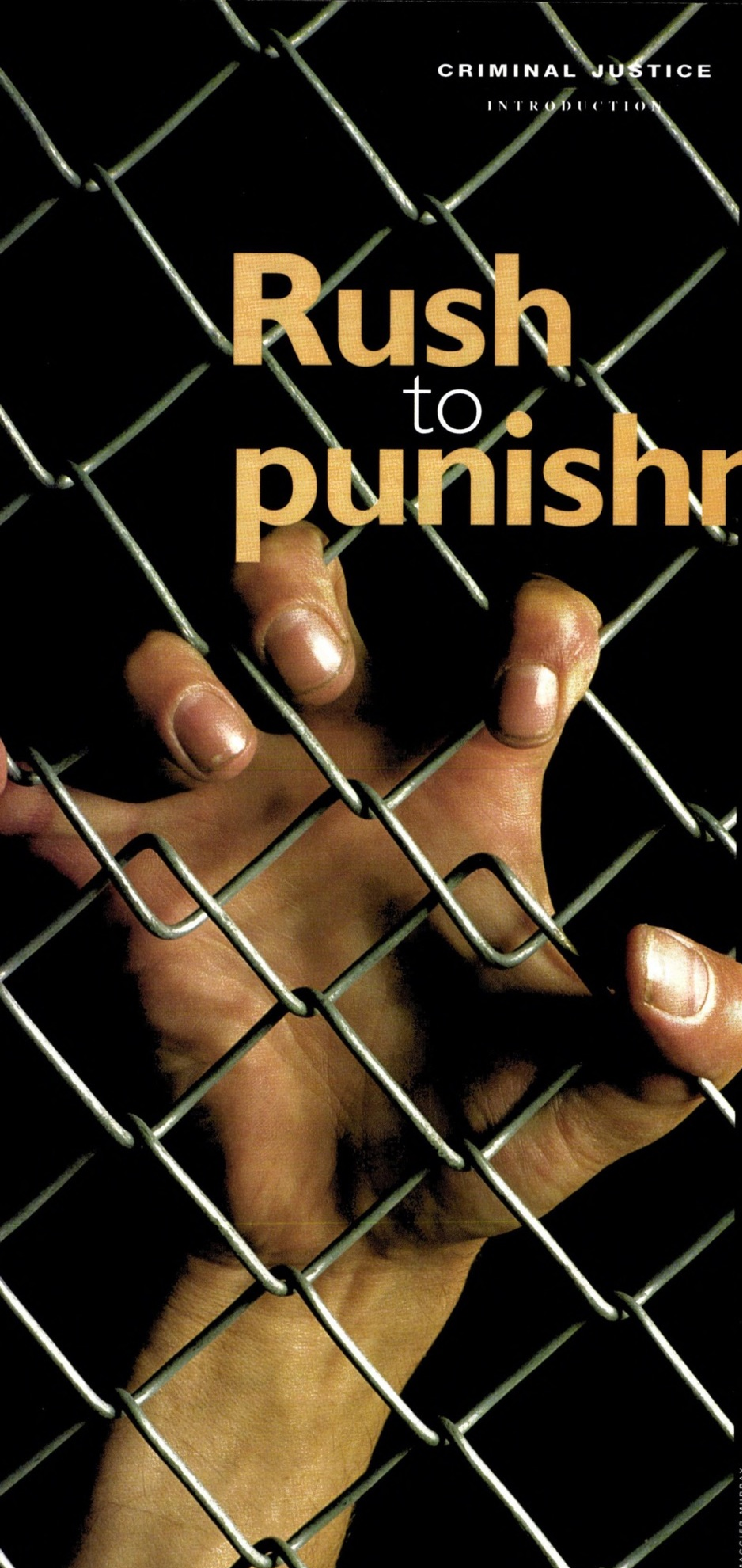
Iran's doctors have been urged to make their diagnoses, as far as possible, without direct contact with or undressing a patient of the opposite sex. Medical staff are only permitted to have any contact with the organ they are examining and no other. Now there are moves afoot to ensure that even dentists are of the same sex as the patients they are treating.

Iran Bulletin, No 12

Quote

'None of us have shed tears that there are no millionaires.'

President **Fidel Castro**, talking about Cuba
during this year's May Day celebrations.



MAGGIER MURRAY

Rush to punishment

Richard Swift visits the jailers and the jailed – in a system that's become an end in

BEEFY hands are clasped over patriotic hearts as they play the Star Spangled Banner. The pastor opens with a dedication to those who 'are no longer with us from last year'.

It's a sweltering-hot weekend in mid-May. The American Jail Association – the AJA, which covers the local-jail system in the US – is getting together for its annual convention in St Louis. Attenders run the gamut. Most are no-nonsense 'correctional officers' who come in all colours and sizes – but mostly large. There are good-ol'-boy sheriffs complete with cowboy boots, cigars and bellies spilling over belts. The younger (thinner and scarier) 'don't-give-'em-an-inch-or-they'll-take-a-mile' guys are sporting suits and crewcuts. There is a scattering of black faces in the crowd, probably equivalent to the African-American percentage of the US population, but

AMERICA'S CENTER
We've Got You Covered
Protection • Performance • Economics
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COOPER STREET CAMPUS

PHOTOS BY RICHARD SWIFT

Into punishment? The Jail Expo at the American Jail Association get-together is bound to have something for you.

inmates that crowd the country's jails.

Then there are the social-worker types (more women here) dealing with everything from inmate programming to mental-health and drug counselling. Time served in the US local jail system, on charges relating to simple theft or assault, prostitution, some drug and alcohol offences and a wide range of disorderly conduct, is usually measured in weeks. As the minimal US welfare net is even further shredded, it falls to the nation's badly overcrowded jails to pick up the pieces of shattered underclass lives. Unfortunately, counselling about jobs and help in improving self-esteem tends to be counter-productive behind bars.

A moderate tone is set in the opening address by Chris Scott, a prison governor with Her Majesty's Prison Service in Britain and formerly head of the Prison Governors' Association. There is the usual stuff about the thin blue line of corrections officers protecting society from 'anarchy'. He goes on to delineate the differences between the British and US criminal-justice systems, expressing the usual incredulity about the election of local judges and sheriffs in the US. He is polite enough not to mention that the US has the highest rate of incarceration in the Western world.

But Scott's main emphasis is on balancing punishment with forgiveness and moral reform. There is also barely disguised disquiet at the current 'tough-on-crime' approaches of British Home Secretary Michael Howard (who wants all new prisons privately run) and his Labour alter-ego Jack Straw (most recently obsessed with curfews to make sure children are neither seen nor heard). Shrinking budgets and higher levels of incarceration are optimistically portrayed as a 'challenge' rather than a nightmare.

But prison expansion is not just driven by 'tough-on-crime' politicians and a sanctimonious media. The crime-control industry is buried deep in the economic soil of the US – and will soon jump the Atlantic if Michael Howard gets his way. And 'our industry' is exactly how America's jailers talk about it, these hot days in St Louis. The language of commerce competes with cool professional rhetoric and occasional tough-guy machismo. Words like 'management', 'security' and especially 'control' pepper the conversation. Workshop themes cover the waterfront, from youth gangs to chain gangs. The jailers worry about everything, from how to deal with court orders over prison conditions ('They've got to be smokin' something down at the courthouse!') to their own retirement prospects.

'It's ugly, how much money he's now worth.' The speaker is a big ol' boy from one of the West Virginia jails. He is recalling a common acquaintance in the prison-design business with an enthusiastic young blonde woman from down in Tampa, Florida. We all went and visited your jail down there. Made me think I was at the NASA space station in Houston. Talk about high-tech!' It turns out his designer pal has made his fortune by selling out to the Corrections Corporation of America, one of the biggies of the lucrative prison-industrial complex. The woman from Tampa is in awe of the new facilities just up the road in Orlando: They get all that money from tourists visiting Disneyworld and they use it to just keep building more and more jails. They've got the highest rate of incarceration in the State.'

The real centre of the action at the AJA convention is an exposition of over 200 booths offering such goodies as new razor-wire perimeter fences, special jailhouse furniture, medical and TB-detection services, prison construction, a myriad of different computer systems and anything else that might prove useful inside prison walls. These are the folks who provide not only the hot canapés and free drinks in the hospitality suites but also the revenue that allows the AJA to run this shindig in the first place. The companies that display here, and at the much larger American Correctional Association (who run the US penitentiary system), are the profit centres of the burgeoning crime-control industry. They vary from corporate heavy-hitters like AT&T and NEC to 'mom-and-pop' outfits like RIPP restraints or Silent Witness with their new video-monitoring system.

I half-expect to be grabbed, slammed against a wall and asked what the hell I think I'm doing.

As the jailers wind their way through the aisles, it's just like selling soap or lawn furniture. 'Hi Charlie! Wondered if I was going to see you and the wife down here this year!'... 'Don, are you worried about key control right now? Well, why not?'... 'We call this video camera our tough little Pit Bull. It will take a kicking and just keep on filming.'... 'This [restraining] belt is the twinkle toe, ma'am. He isn't kicking and he isn't running. He won't play rabbit on you. The LAPD use 'em.'

The booths are a delight for anyone into post-modern iconography. There are dummies of prisoners cowering in special bunkbeds. There is one of a prisoner strapped into a restraining chair and made up to look like Saddam Hussein. There is the dummy of an LA cop, looking for all the world like Vampira, advertising a portable video pack complete with helmet camera and wrist monitor: 'All for under $5,000,' I'm assured. There are the salesmen from Bob Barker Inc., dressed in their convict stripes, selling 'paddy-wagon retrofits'. The slogans are catchy too: 'Built to last a life sentence'; 'We design for the world's toughest customers'; a line of prison T-shirts with slogans like 'Hard Time Bed and Breakfast: Three Hots and a Cot'.

As I wander among the displays snapping semi-clandestine photos I half expect to be grabbed, slammed against a wall and asked just what in the hell I think I'm doing. But I need not have feared. All is business-as-usual, without defensiveness or indeed any shadow of epistemological doubt. Most of these people are not like the nasty sheriff who pushed Paul Newman around in Cool Hand Luke, but 'professionals' simply doing their job – the processing, incarceration and guarding of America's growing underclass. It seems to me a good sign when the workshop on chain gangs draws only a fifth of those attending the one on inmate suicide. That is, until it becomes clear that the jailers' main worry here is the threat of being sued by bereaved and bitter inmate families. In such discussions the flesh-and-blood inmate is totally absent; prisoners are simply objects to be 'managed' with the least possible fuss.

While most of the jailers see overcrowding as a problem (predictions that certain prisons are ready to 'blow' are common) what really worries them most is the threat of privatization. The sheriff of Tuscaloosa County, Alabama, gives a positively evangelical oration on the follies of private prisons: 'Do they give a rat's fur about their employees? Of course not... There was no control in the place, people were running around like it was the Atlanta airport.' For these people, the threat of privatization has displaced the debate that really needs to happen about the value of mass incarceration, full stop. But that might prove an even greater threat to their chosen careers. Whether private or public, the drive for control through incarceration is never in question. Both are pushed forward by jobs, profits and an overpowering institutional momentum.

Any doubts about this are quickly expelled by a tour of the nearby new highrise St Louis Justice Center. In loving detail a series of planners, architects, corrections bureaucrats and legal functionaries ('The Transition Team') tell us more than we ever wanted to know about their pride and joy – currently under construction. How they 'sold' the Center to the local community of Clayton. How difficult it is to 'key' a facility with 2,000 doors. What the colour-coded 'sally-forths' on the blue-prints mean. How you have to be able to defend the operating manual in court. The advantages of the new 'pod' approach to cell construction.

I am curious to know how many more poor St Louisians can expect to be hosted in such a facility, compared with present arrangements. I ask one keen member of The Transition Team and she replies: 'We now have capacity for about 750.' Then her face breaks into a happy grin: 'But with the new facility we could max out at 1,250!' The Transition Team is planning for an opening gala with a special 'spend the evening in jail' for the good burghers of St Louis. It is plain to me that with so much money – to say nothing of energy and enthusiasm – invested in the Justice Center, not many cells are likely to remain empty.

DONNA DECESARE / IMPACT VISUALS

Waiting it out: prison prepares you for little more than more prison.

It's funny how you can know something in theory but need to experience it emotionally before it really becomes part of you. It was that way with my first real visit to a place where people do hard time: the Collins Bay Penitentiary in Kingston, Canada's prison town par excellence. The prison combines modern razor wire with Camelot-like turrets from the early twentieth-century school of prison architecture. Collins Bay is medium-security where, unlike jails run by the folks from the American Jail Association, time is measured not in days but in years, even decades.

The inmates can walk around its institutionalized halls freely at certain time periods – just like high school. The meeting room is a shabby, paint-peeling affair and the tobacco smoke soon hangs heavy in the air. Do I expect to be held hostage, or at least roundly denounced as a sen-sation-seeking journalist? But there are no horns to be seen on the 12 guys I sit around the room with. It is hard to believe they are mostly bank robbers and murderers. Sure, there are lots of tattoos and T-shirts that say stuff like 'Kick Butt'. Yet the discussions are remarkably civilized; more civilized than many NI co-operative meetings. There is lots of humour too. One three-time bank robber, on hearing where the NI Toronto office is located, offers: 'That is excellent bank-robbing territory.'

Tony, who has been in stir since the 1970s, leads off with an angry outburst about a corrections system he feels is self-perpetuating and designed to fail. He speaks through a thin black cigar clenched between his teeth, his gravelly voice betraying years of frustration with the incompetence of those motivated only by good salaries and healthy pensions. Later, in a more reflective mood, he quotes Dostoyevsky on judging a society by how it keeps its prisoners.

Steve, the small wiry bankrobber who is chairing the meeting, chimes in with a critique of arbitrary staff behaviour: 'Look, in here being a model prisoner means turning yourself into some kind of semi-robot. But how do you undo that when you get outside?' Others offer stories of courses – prerequisites for parole consideration – that have been denied them for years because of overcrowded conditions and shrinking resources. The general consensus is that the most valuable courses are ones that teach high-end trades or provide advanced education. Both have been severely cut back or eliminated entirely. There is generally low regard for more behavioural courses like 'criminal attitudes' and 'anger management': 'You see someone in here as a guard and before you know it they are back on contract as a professional instructor.'

'Look, in here being a model prisoner means turning yourself into some kind of semi-robot. But how do you undo it when you get outside?'

Their observations on life on the inside are perhaps a bit sanitized by their desire to counter negative stereotypes about racism and violence. Many of the inmates in

Collins Bay are black or Asian (mostly Vietnamese) and the general feeling around the room is 'live and let live'. Of more concern is the generation gap between older and younger prisoners: 'These kids come in and think they can blast heavy metal at 4.00 in the morning – well, no you can't. I find myself becoming my own father.' Steve concludes that 'prison is a lot like marriage. It's not the big things, like losing a job or the car getting repossessed, that set people off, but the little things, like not putting up the toilet seat.' What is left unsaid is that disagreements can be settled with a home-made 'shank' (knife).

But there is solidarity too. The inmates describe a recent 'lockdown', or prisoners' strike, which was decided range by range (prison living area) via secret ballot. There are stories of lifers finally out on parole who come back regularly as prison visitors. Still, relationships are bound to be strained by the prison environment. Prisoners cannot be too friendly to the guards, for fear of what other inmates may think; and guards cannot be too friendly to prisoners, for fear of what other guards may think.

I am fascinated that these inmates go out of their way to show that the prison service is failing in its own terms. Their analysis may be a shade conspiratorial, but who can deny their basic premise: that the punishment bureaucracy is quickly becoming an end in itself?

John, a muscular biker who is finally getting paroled after 18 years, ponders aloud the futility of aping the US model. When the discussion turns to the privatization of punishment he is quick to point out that the in-built dynamic for profitable growth in such a system will become virtually impossible to stop. Someone adds: 'What the public forgets is that there are men and women getting out of prison every day. They carry with them the anger and frustration of prison.' Interestingly, no-one will say that there is no place for prison, even when I ask this question directly. The old-timers reminisce about the days when five years was a long sentence: 'Now when they say 20 years they mean 20 years.'

These prisoners have seen years of overcrowding, double-bunking, cutbacks in inmate programming and reduction in paroles and day passes ('though they were 98-per-cent successful'). They put it down to a crime-obsessed press and to opportunistic politicians, but also to the changing, more materialistic times: 'When the hippies became yuppies we were in trouble.'

Steve, who has a good turn of metaphor, concludes: 'Prison authority is a lot like a two-year-old who says "I'll show you!" and then holds his breath until he turns blue.'

I think maybe they should ask Steve to lead a workshop when the AJA gets together in Salt Lake City next year. ■

Crime and civiliz

For **Nils Christie** the way in which a society delivers pain to its wrongdoers is the measure of civilization. He is a long-time critic of the 'lock-'em-up-and-throw-away-the-key' approach to law and order that is now filling up prisons on both sides of the Atlantic. Christie has been an important influence on both Scandinavian prison policy and on prison reformers around the world. He spoke to **Richard Swift**.

RS: Why do you claim there is little connection between the crime rate and the number of people being sent to prison?

NC: I hesitate to use the word 'crime', because in a way 'crime' does not exist, it is just a social definition of certain unwanted acts. Sometimes there is no official action at all following such acts. Look at family matters – teenagers often act in ways that, if it were outside the family, would be labelled as 'crime', but because it is inside it's just your son, who takes some money from the kitchen table or is hitting his brother. You don't call that 'theft' or 'violence' because you know reasons for his behaviour; but if it were a new neighbour's son you might assume he had a tendency for stealing.

Where people do not know each other they feel a need for having officials fix matters. They don't know a person well enough to say: 'Sometimes he gets drunk, but he is no real danger.' The most obvious case of something becoming a crime is hemp, which was a very useful drug for both Europeans and Americans. The whole drug arena is responsible for the most fantastical growth of prison populations in the US and now in Europe. There is a clear influence from the US which has unhealthy consequences for the rest of the globe. It's not just drugs but a general tendency at work in the industrial world.

Can you explain?

We feel it very acutely in the so-called welfare states of Scandinavia. With the economy running free the difference between those with means and those without is constantly growing. A majority of Norwegians is doing better but a substantial minority is doing much worse. So the control of this poor minority is becoming a major preoccupation. In the old days you could see that people who owned something were tied down by their property – they had to live in communities and relate to people who didn't have that much material wealth. It would have been very silly for them not to have shown a minimum of decency. Now people can move their capital and themselves just by pushing buttons. You don't have to be so concerned about your local communities.

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What other factors are behind the development of what you call the 'prison-industrial complex'?

It's the same as when US President Dwight Eisenhower, back in the 1950s, warned against the military establishment fuelled by a military industry's need for profits and jobs. Today it's the same with the penal establishment. In California the prison guards' association gives millions to those politicians who are for the expansion of the prison industry, and tries to block those who are opposed. This same organization gave over $100,000 to the committee that pushed through the 'three-strikes-and-you-are-out' legislation.

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ILLUSTRATION BY RICHARD SLYE

The same thing happened here in New Brunswick where the prison guards' union opposed the closing of four prisons by saying that it would take away the discretionary power of judges and courts to make well-founded decisions.

It is quite a fantastic situation when those who administer the pain-delivery in our society have such a great say. It's as if the hangman's association got together to work for more hanging. We might feel a bit uneasy about this. But that is only the tip of the iceberg. There is a trend in the military industry to turn to law-and-order production. There has been a series of meetings between defence contractors and penal authorities. The US Secretary of Defence addressed them saying: 'You won the war abroad, now help us win the war at home.' It is the electronics industry that is most heavily involved wiring prisons, producing electronic bracelets, electric monitoring both inside and outside prisons. It involves lots of industries – construction, food-catering, even telephone companies. The journal of the American Corrections Association is filled with ads to tap this billion-dollar market.

Are there similar trends in Europe?

In Europe this trend is not so developed but it is coming, with more pressure to jail drug-users and deal with the 'dangerous' underclass. The shake-up in Eastern European societies has enormously increased pressure on the prison system. I got the Russian figures just the other day. In 1993 they had about 573 prisoners per 100,000 population; in 1994 it went up to 611 per 100,000 and now, in 1995, it is 687 per 100,000.

Is that the highest rate in the world?

Probably China is much higher but we have no reliable statistics. This Russian trend is so dramatic because the figures went down after the Second World War and reached the bottom after Gorbachev. Now Russia and the United States are the two biggest incarcerators in the industrial world.

In Western Europe there is a different tradition, with less willingness to build prisons and more emphasis on alternative corrections. Is this changing?

It differs. We are only a tenth of the Russian and American rates. In Scandinavia we are at 66 per 100,000. Some European countries have been able to resist the pressure – Finland has done this with a conscious effort from its civil service. But Britain, for example, is going up dramatically and will soon be at the Canadian standard. In Britain it is exceptionally clear that this is a product of Conservative policy – the Home Office has made it part of a 'get-tough-on-crime' campaign. This is a real betrayal of the British Conservative tradition represented by Winston Churchill, who said it wasn't decent to have so many poor people in prison. Between the wars Britain brought its prison figures down to a fantastic extent.

You have to ask, what are the consequences of this repressive penal policy? In some US cities it's like a war situation where the young males are simply not there. We send young people to schools or universities with a reason – we have some hope that they will learn something. What do we think of the kind of citizens we will meet when so many of them have been through the type of 'universities' we call prisons? In the US today there are one-and-a-half million in prison and another three-and-a-half under penal control outside prison. Nearly five per cent of adult males are under penal control: it's not crime control but a kind of war situation.

You take an abolitionist position in terms of prisons, but what do you do with the truly dangerous criminal?

If you pushed me I would say that there is probably a small minority of offenders that you have to lock up for a relatively long period of time. If they have done something extraordinary, usually killed people, they would usually go to prison for ten to fifteen years and when they are released very few offend again. Then you have the concept of the truly dangerous criminal – the problem here is, how do you know who is truly dangerous? We are not good at predicting. When a person has done a truly terrible act it is easy to look back and say we could have predicted it, but that is when it has happened. There are so many people around us about whom we say 'aren't they really dangerous?', but nothing ever happens. How many should we take in on the suspicion that they might be dangerous? There are risks in life and this is one of them. The most dangerous place for your life is in your home, as you probably know. Most people are killed by family or those they are relatively close to. Refuges for women are important to deal with this. But in the end there are certain risks you take – when you walk in the streets you might be hit by a car. We cannot build up a system of sanction on supposed danger, in my view.

What do you say to women who say that the criminal-justice system should be more widely used to combat violence against women?

I find so few of them in my circles. It is enormously interesting that most women go another way and say: 'If we are to punish people then we have to deal with a penal law apparatus where we have to stand witness as victims and the man must have advocates to defend him. It is close to certain that this will result in a degrading and terrible situation in court. Why don't we use a more civil system, rather, where he must make compensation – make good the damage?' There is a lot of response amongst women to a system that offers an alternative to just delivering pain to the offender.

There is really an interesting development these days in Norway – a new law has set up a body to handle conflicts. It provides a way to take cases away from the criminal-law system and gets people to talk to each other and try to come up with a kind of contract, whereby the person who has done something silly is given a chance to make it good again. There is a war between civil society and crime-control society – the state in its most primitive, punitive form.

Civil society is building up alternative ways of handling conflict. We need to find ideas from the native cultures and our own past, when the state was not so strong. In Aotearoa/New Zealand and Australia they have gone a long way in dealing with young offenders in such ways. Norway is the only European society that created such bodies and last year they handled four to five thousand cases. I feel great optimism about this alternative to penal approaches. It does not ignore the crime or unwanted acts – too often the liberal position. That is very wrong. These acts must be reacted to, otherwise your society is not alive. But who said you should react with pain delivery? Who said you shouldn't try to make it good again? Don't forget the victim. Lawyers steal other people's conflicts: we need to give them back to the people directly concerned.

Why is our culture fascinated with crime?

This is so natural. As human beings we are interested in conflicts, it's the theme for great authors and for ordinary people. But people no longer participate in such conflicts. If we become victims we leave it all up to professionals who are basically fed up. Conflict ought to be participated in by ordinary people, but we are just spectators of crime who now and again cry out for more severe punishment.

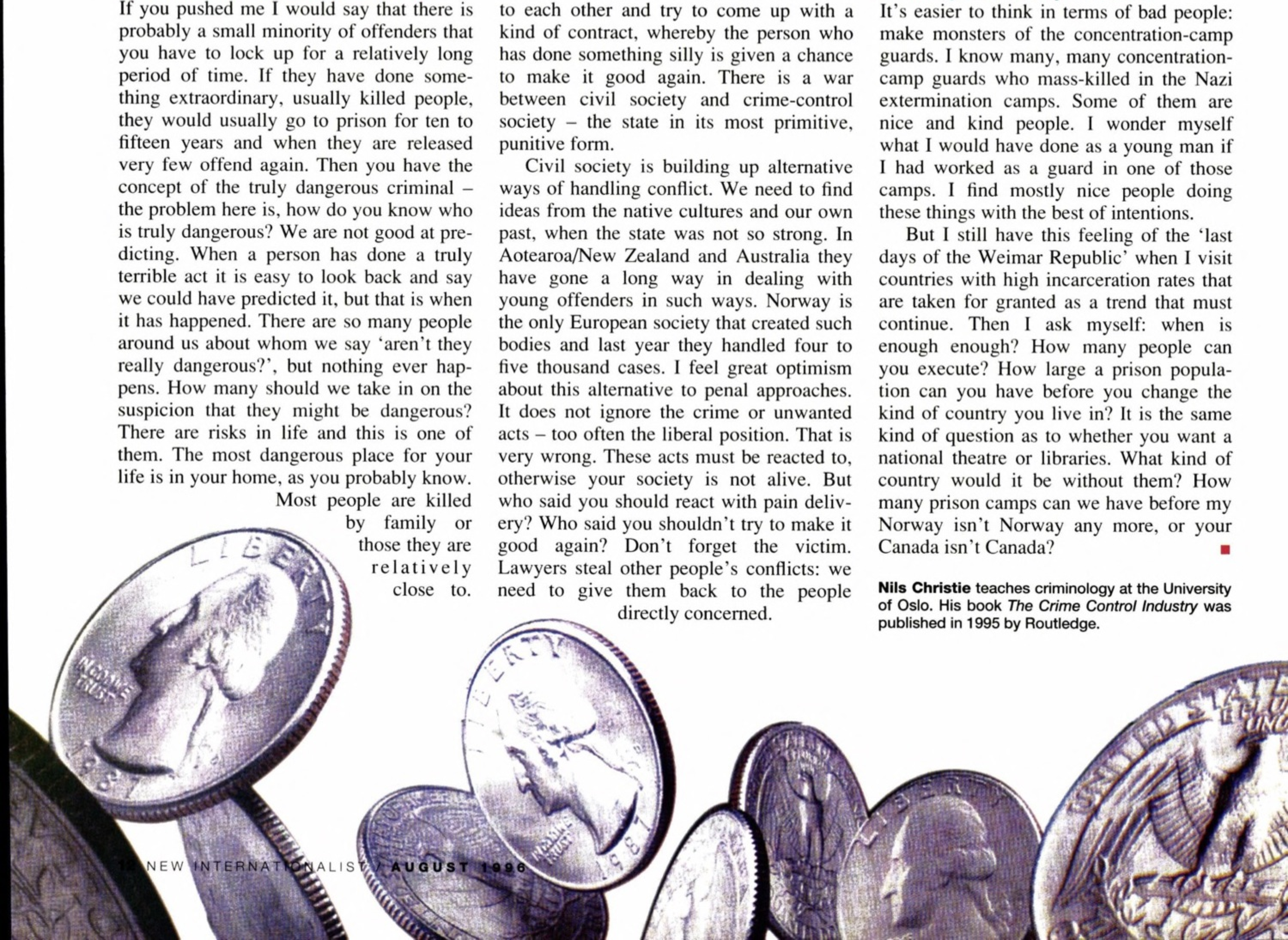
But if we come close to the people in prison for punishment we become more doubtful. We become more open to new ways of integrating that person into everyday life. It is very easy to create a monster of a stranger, seen only through the media. Now they are going to have video trials: the prisoner can be in the prison, the judge in the courthouse, the defender and the prosecutor in their offices, all connected by electronics. They don't have to meet. You don't meet the accused in smell and despair, only their picture.

It seems it is easier for us to concentrate on the brutality of the individual criminal than the brutality of the system. Why is this so?

It's easier to think in terms of bad people: make monsters of the concentration-camp guards. I know many, many concentration-camp guards who mass-killed in the Nazi extermination camps. Some of them are nice and kind people. I wonder myself what I would have done as a young man if I had worked as a guard in one of those camps. I find mostly nice people doing these things with the best of intentions.

But I still have this feeling of the 'last days of the Weimar Republic' when I visit countries with high incarceration rates that are taken for granted as a trend that must continue. Then I ask myself: when is enough enough? How many people can you execute? How large a prison population can you have before you change the kind of country you live in? It is the same kind of question as to whether you want a national theatre or libraries. What kind of country would it be without them? How many prison camps can we have before my Norway isn't Norway any more, or your Canada isn't Canada? ■

Nils Christie teaches criminology at the University of Oslo. His book *The Crime Control Industry* was published in 1995 by Routledge.



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DEATH ROW INMATE

I learned to run
And duck low, to hide
When the odds were
Against me.
I learned to sneak up
Behind my persecutors
And stab them in the back.
Get them before they get me.
I learned that all is fair
To him that has no conscience,
And that honesty and fair play
Do not go hand in hand.
Justice is not for all.
I learned to face the Executioner
With a happy heart.
It is a far, far better place
That I go to,
Than the place that I leave.
I learned fear.
I learned how it hurts
To love someone
Who does not love me.
But I never learned
The reason why.

Kirk Anderson
Westwego, LA

Naughty Naughty!

PETER MARLOW / MAGNUM

Trevor Turner fears that our desire for discipline and our impulse to punish may be getting the better of us.

THESE days punishment goes hand-in-hand with violence in an increasing cycle of neurotic repetition. Punishment, in its myriad forms, has become a kind of Continental Divide between the moral and scientific worlds. In a recent radio debate a Catholic priest (the moralist), childless of course, suggested there was an active state of original sin, a kind of miasma from which we all have to fight free. His opponent was a recently sacked prison doctor (the scientist) who had spent over 20 years working with some of the worst criminals in Britain, talking to them, trusting them and even trying to treat them. He had no doubt whatsoever that these dangerous criminals were the way they were because of how they had been brought up.

Nevertheless, societies of every ilk have meted out an extraordinary variety of punitive responses to behaviours seen as immoral, aberrant or just a social nuisance. Even the term 'meted' is one reserved for the ceremony of punishment. There is an enormous gulf between forms of response. In Saudi Arabia if you steal something you can have your right hand chopped off, by a method reminiscent of those old Viking movies where limbs regularly went flying amidst the crunch of axes and the clash of swords. But go to New Zealand/Aotearoa, commit the same 'crime', and what happens? There will be a meeting (instead of a meting out of punishment) of your family and the victim's, a court supervisor, a social worker and a range of other specialists to determine an appropriate response, including some kind of pay-back, organized to all parties' satisfaction. Miscreant behaviour is seen as a group responsibility. Rehabilitation rather than castigation is the focus.

There are various components to modern chastisement. These include the need for revenge (a form of pleasure); the need for compensation for losses suffered; the need to consider the wider safety of society; and – usually at the bottom of the list – some sort of re-instatement or even therapy for the offender. These four horsemen of the correctional apocalypse vary throughout history as to their level of influence. It is well established in industrialized societies that there is an adverse relationship between the numbers of people in prison and the numbers in mental hospitals. Discharge people from the latter, as in the present era of community care and, strangely enough, prison numbers start to climb. Expand your 'asylum' system and prison numbers tend to fall. This is hardly surprising, given that prison governors report that between a third and half of their inmates suffer psychiatric problems or some form of brain disease. In fact the Victorian theory of prison in the high evangelical (mid-nineteenth-century) period considered that solitary confinement combined with individual reflection was the road to salvation.

The two most powerful theories shaping punishment in the twentieth century are behaviourism and psycho-analysis. The former suggests that behaviour is all and that inner feelings, fantasies, fixations, etc are but metaphysical claptrap. Rats in cages can be punished (ie usually by electric shock) to conform to certain behaviour patterns. Behaviour modification is used successfully in bringing up children even in the most liberal societies, including measures of verbal or even physical admonition. A recent extensive survey from a Catholic country found 75 per cent of parents, more often the mothers, admitting to hitting their children. The most common approaches were hitting with the hand, hitting with a belt or shaking them, due to a child's defiant attitudes, refusal to work or study, or for running away from home. While there is a debate about the effects of corporal punishment and its excesses on the personalities of young children, many parents still accept the use of some physical sanction to deter wayward behaviour.

The more complex approach of Freud and the psycho-analysts, as one would expect, gives a rather sexier reading. This theory suggests that as we grow up we develop, initially, our basic instincts, bubbling away in the Id; then our control centre for balancing these primitive drives with the realities of the outside world (the Ego); then, finally, a Superego. This Superego derives from the control our parents exercised over us and acts as a kind of conscience. This may sometimes involve the need for the pain of punishment to alleviate the chronic guilt coming from our Superego. Thus, accepting punishment – and, of course, seeing other people accept punishment – becomes part-and-parcel of our personal stability. Yet a range of neuroses (Obsessive Compulsive Disorder and Sado-Masochism) can develop out of an abnormal sense of punishment. Sadism, which delights in hurting people, and Masochism, which delights in being hurt, are essentially the same perversion – the latter being merely the former turned against one's self.

What both Freud and the behaviourists seem to agree on is that punishment is a natural part of the human state. We can enjoy it. Some even seek it out as part of their sexual pleasure. Punishment is also integral to the most extreme forms of worship: flagellants were religious fanatics who whipped themselves for hours on end. But it might be suggested they are just the tip of the iceberg, and in the end we all enjoy a good thrashing; whether it is the 'thrashing' of the opposition at a game of rugby or football, or whether it is the thrashing we receive from an angry parent – absolving us from our sins. In a fragmented, individualized world the desire for discipline in oneself and others becomes an increasingly influential undercurrent. Such primordial instincts may even be seen as the basis for the new 'tough-on-crime' approach. The dark army of medieval moralists, increasingly threatened by the outriders of post-Darwinian rationalism, is becoming ever more fierce in its demands. Just as the new ideas of the Reformation generated the heightened reactions of the Inquisition, with its burning of witches and hunting down of heretics, so the heightened awareness, in the modern world, of crime and criminality leads to similar demands to control and punish. The return to the death penalty in many American States reflects exactly this

> ***What both Freud and the behaviourists seem to agree on is that punishment is a natural part of the human state***

DOUBLE STANDARD

The payroll robbery was a bust – but it got Stan to thinking about what is and what isn't called 'a crime'. He talked to George Fisher.

STAN gave up stealing cars just as the manufacturers started fitting high-tech anti-theft devices as standard features. 'They've taken all the fun out of it,' he says, smiling wryly over a mug of coffee, 'and it's more like homework now than forbidden fruit'. Stan is a large man, and the cheap diner chairs we sit on squeal in protest every now and then as he shifts and wriggles – never, it seems, comfortable. He admits the 'adrenaline' factor was a major influence when he was a teenager in Sydney's sprawling western suburbs. 'I guess I could've watched TV or helped my folks grow veggies, but it didn't have the same attraction. The girls in the pub car park weren't interested in a bag of compost or an armful of carrots.'

While Stan has served time more than once for car theft, his last sentence was for his part in an armed hold-up: a foiled hold-up, that is, followed by a long period of manifest embarrassment. Maybe it was a tip-off. Stan's anger at this possibility is visible to anyone.

Stan waxes lyrical about life, in language full of style and colour. The hold-up that went wrong was of a payroll delivery at an electronics factory whose subsidiary now assembles high-tech car alarms. Stan is very aware of the fact that one of the company's directors has attracted police attention for both tax evasion and fraud. The key evidence against him always disappears with impeccable timing. The sum involved was reportedly around 20 times the amount Stan and his friends would have pocketed from the hold-up. 'Although we never did get to find out the exact amount,' Stan notes with surprisingly good humour.

Stan started out being stoic about his likely future but has become increasingly bitter. He finds 'legit' work from time to time but is also well acquainted with the local welfare office. He has learned to feign appreciation of the long list of job 're-skilling' courses his parole and welfare payments require him to do. It's a far different life than that of the company director, who Stan imagines will soon be showing his face again on the social pages of the Sydney Morning Herald.

'What really gets me in these "victimless" crimes is that there are really victims,' he reflects. 'It's just that it's harder to prove that a worker's depression, or some family's loss of hope, is because of that man.' Stan warms to his subject. 'His victims would probably fill a Town Hall. Try to pin it on the company maybe, but it's faceless, it's invisible. His victims are at fault for their weakness. But not the victim who can show a black eye or a few stitches. My greed got me years inside and a bleak future. I know what I did was wrong. But his got him a harbourside home and a ticket to the smart set. And that's got to be wrong too.'

George Fisher writes for NI from Sydney.

ILLUSTRATION BY ALAN HUGHES

primitive, sadistic urge.

These desperate adumbrations of dying belief-systems were predicted by Matthew Arnold in his poem *Dover Beach*, way back in 1867. He felt that 'the Sea of Faith was once, too, at the full... but now was ebbing fast'. He finished the poem with a sense of being 'swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight, where ignorant armies clash by night'. This process of loss of faith that Arnold describes still continues some 130 years later and there even seems a current upsurge of 'ignorant armies' of radical and fundamental religious belief, whether Christian, Islamic or elsewise.

It may be that punishment has yet another derivation. A particular feature of modern times is the perception of violence on the rise. This may simply be because a growing number of people no longer accept such behaviour as normal. There is also the fact that we know what is going on, via television or detailed sociological surveys. Whatever the cause, an urgent feeling persists that 'something must be done' to quell this awful upsurge in violence. The Superego within us has its desire to punish and the 'criminal' is an obvious target. Getting rid of a few degenerate human beings seems less troubling in an over-peopled world, where life seems cheapened daily with public deaths from Bosnia to Somalia, or in awful air crashes or natural disasters. Is this punishment for our own excessive breeding? As the crush gets noisier the demand to get rid of the overt murderers and robbers becomes more insistent. Even adolescents and 'retarded individuals' are no longer immune from the death penalty in America. A fervour for moral eugenics has taken over the administration of justice.

Given this castigatory can of worms and the prison doctor's account of dangerous criminals, with their tales of awful upbringings – how can we produce gentler, less urgent children? Perhaps they need to spend more time with their grandparents, older folk more mellow in their ways, happy to sit and wait rather than instantly demand. Perhaps we should ban 'instant' anything.

When in Arizona recently I heard a National Rifle Association supporter drawl out that old platitude: 'Guns don't kill people, people kill people.' I wanted to challenge him and ask him to go and share his views with the parents of the children massacred at Dunblane in Scotland. At the time he was playing with a large shiny rifle. So I demurred. But what came across most to me was his sense of righteousness in wanting to discipline those who mis-used their guns. Punishing people can be fun, addictive even, so we must try to stop doing it altogether. ■

Trevor Turner is a London-based psychiatrist whose views on psycho-politics frequently appear in **NI**.

How do you spell 'justice'?

Answer: C-A-S-H. **Christina Hoag** walks the streets and visits the prisons of Venezuela.

IMAGINE walking down the street and being stopped by police. They arrest you and throw you into a cell, where you remain for five, possibly ten, years. Your crime: a police officer doesn't like the way you look. Your defence: you have none. You have simply been deemed 'suspicious'. This is a real situation in Venezuela, where 93 men and women are in prison for never having committed a crime, nor even being accused of committing one.

They are victims of the Vagrants Law, which, despite numerous protests that it blatantly violates the Venezuelan constitution and global human-rights conventions, is still in effect more than 50 years after it was implemented. This law is a glaring example of how the justice system works in this oil-rich South American nation. As any Venezuelan will tell you, there are two types of justice – one for those with money and one for those without. 'If you have dark skin and you're from the *barrio*, you go to jail and you're forgotten,' says Liliana Ortega, a lawyer who heads the human-rights organization COFAVIC.

The Vagrants Law was designed to keep 'undesirables' off the streets. Police can arrest anyone whose behaviour is considered criminally suspect. According to human-rights activists, street people, often mentally ill or alcoholic, are the traditional targets. The local US Embassy's human-rights report states that police are known to threaten to arrest people under the law if they don't obey an order. The law's real crime is the penalty: a prison sentence of up to five years, which can be extended if a judge finds the person likely to commit a crime upon release. The Vagrants Law violates Venezuela's own constitutional guarantee to due process, yet petitions to the Supreme Court to overturn it have failed. Concern for the rights of the poor is not a popular cause in Venezuela – it reaps neither political favour nor money.

Judges and police are notoriously corrupt. Both buying a case dismissal and bribing to avoid traffic fines are routine. Two judges were arrested last year – one was nabbed with bundles of bills stuffed in her underwear, and the other flung the damning money out the window as police entered. Neither saw a day in jail. Activists point out that physical appearance, social status and an address in a good suburb are often enough to guarantee bail, regardless of the severity of the alleged crime.

Defendants from the other end of the social spectrum do not get that chance, even if accused of committing a relatively light crime. With two-thirds of Venezuela's population falling below the poverty line, this leads to overcrowded prisons. Joanne Mariner, head of Human Rights Watch's Americas' Prison Project, calls Venezuela's prison system 'one of the worst in Latin America... The violence is incredible.' For example:

- Wagner Plaza was chatting with his mother during a visit at Caracas' Catia jail last February. Before her horrified eyes, another inmate stabbed her 27-year-old son to death.
- At La Sabaneta prison in the western city of Maracaibo, at least 108 prisoners died in an inmate gun battle and fire in January 1994.
- Thirteen inmates died and 20 were wounded in a rival gang skirmish at La Pica jail in the eastern city of Maturin in March.

According to the Miami-based Women for Human Rights, 196 prisoners were killed and 624 wounded as a result of Venezuelan jailhouse violence in 1995. Gang warfare is nothing new in prisons, but in Venezuelan jails the battles involve all types of guns, including high-powered submachine guns and even hand grenades. Trafficking in arms, as well as drugs, is big business in the jails. It's no secret that guards, who earn about $75 a month – low even by local standards – are routinely bribed to allow contraband through.

While many inmates cannot afford a gun, everyone must have a *chuzo* or knife, say prisoners in the Catia penitentiary. 'Here you've just got to focus on staying

alive,' says an inmate. 'You have to watch your back all the time. No-one's your friend.' Security guard Edicto Ortega (no relation to Liliana), who served 23 years for murder, says: 'It's the only way to survive – kill or be killed.' He lost count of how many inmates he murdered during his sentence. 'That's why I'm alive today,' he adds unequivocally.

By all accounts, violence largely results from the overcrowding. Venezuela has 31 penal institutions with a total capacity to house 15,500 prisoners. The current population is above 25,000. One of the worst is Catia, where 2,100 inmates are squeezed into a building designed for 700. Men sleep on the floor in hallways, in an open-air courtyard and in hammocks. Milk crates and wooden boards supported by buckets serve as beds. 'Prisoners have a matter of a few square metres each,' acknowledges Rafael Narvaez, President of the Venezuelan Congress's Subcommission on Jail Overcrowding.

Overcrowding is blamed on a slothful and corrupt court system. Of the 25,000 inmates, 17,000 are still awaiting sentence. Suspects must wait an average of three years before their case comes before a judge. Inmates often serve more jail time before trial than the maximum sentence for their accused crime. Many institutions do not have up-to-date inmate lists and prisoner files are lost. Inmates are commonly not released on time because it takes days to locate them in the system.

Inmates rely a great deal on visits by relatives to provide what the state doesn't. With no staff doctors, medicines are brought by relatives and in some cases donated. Prisoners with AIDS are left to die. Some family members launder clothes and provide extra food. Surprisingly, visits are unsupervised, whether in the prisoner's cell or anywhere else in the jail.

Visiting days in Venezuelan prisons are communal, boisterous affairs. Inmates also enjoy weekly conjugal visits. For a price, guards also arrange for prostitutes who wait outside the jails on conjugal-visit day. Private quarters are not provided – prisoners and their partners have sexual relations in the cells. Human Rights Watch was startled to find men and women living in the Ciudad Bolivar jail. The Venezuelan attitude is one of everyday life within prison walls, rather than strict punishment. Sex is considered as much a part of life as the bribery you pay to get what you want. Inside as well as outside, money determines quality of life.

It is all very different from the US where there is much more emphasis placed on the control and management of prisoners' daily lives. Visits are usually strictly monitored and take place in visitors' halls, which helps security but at the cost of impersonality. In high-tech prisons guards remain behind glass, remote-controlling doors and observing cell blocks on closed-circuit TV.

Despite miserable conditions, the Venezuelan inmates' biggest gripe is abuse by guards. Days after 34 men escaped from Catia, other prisoners said they were roused out of bed at 3.00am. Ordered to strip and stand against the wall, they were beaten with a *peinilla*, a blunt-edged type of sword that guards and police carry. Inmates charge that guards routinely steal their belongings and destroy items during searches.

The sharp edge of life behind bars in Venezuela (top): only the women's prison escapes an escalating cycle of violence (above).

MAIN PHOTO BY JOSÉ SARDÁ

JOHN BUNTING / IMPACT VISUALS

Strangely, prisoners are loath to protest. Violence is directed against fellow inmates, not against the system or the guards – unlike the US, where inmates are well versed in their rights. 'I think it's an idiosyncrasy of Venezuelans,' says Liliana Ortega. 'We're very passive.'

It may also have to do with the prisoners' backgrounds. Slum-dwellers are well used to not having running water, and to sharing small quarters with extended family. Medicines and doctors are done without, the daily diet is carbohydrate-based and monotonous, and schooling comes second to wage-earning. Having been born poor, they expect to stay poor. 'They're very beaten down and isolated,' remarked Father Matias Camunas, a barrio priest and ardent champion of prisoners' rights.

That may be beginning to change. In an unusual show of solidarity, Catia prisoners staged a short-lived hunger strike in February to protest against vaginal searches of female visitors. The visitors sent a letter to Congressman Narvaez detailing the searches: stripping below the waist so guards can insert a gloved finger into vaginas and rectums – often using the same glove on several women. A month later, a metal detector was installed and women now simply unbuckle their pants. The issue on which the inmates protested – and the fact that officials took note – again points to the priority placed on family.

The Ministry of Justice is particularly proud of its one institution that does work – the women's prison. Here there is no overcrowding, no violence, no broken infrastructure. All women work, either in prison support services or microbusinesses such as sewing and ceramics, and can attend basic education or secretarial classes. Children up to age four can live with their mothers and spend weekends with them after that – an arrangement that again emphasizes the system's everyday-life approach. 'I'm very strict, but I treat them with affection and understanding. Respect is very important, too,' says Director Raiza Bastardo.

Progress is also being made with the men's prisons, albeit in small doses. Infra-structure improvements have been made, buses bought to take prisoners to court, and education and training programs reactivated. The key, however, is funding. 'The Ministry of Justice is the Cinderella of the Government,' says Ortega.

The Ministry is finding help from outside sources. The European Community has donated $1 million, and the COFAVIC human-rights group holds training sessions for jail employees. However, there's still a long way to go before the justice system can be considered either decent or fair. For Ortega it call Venezuela's claim to democracy into doubt. She notes: 'You can't have a democracy without justice.' ■

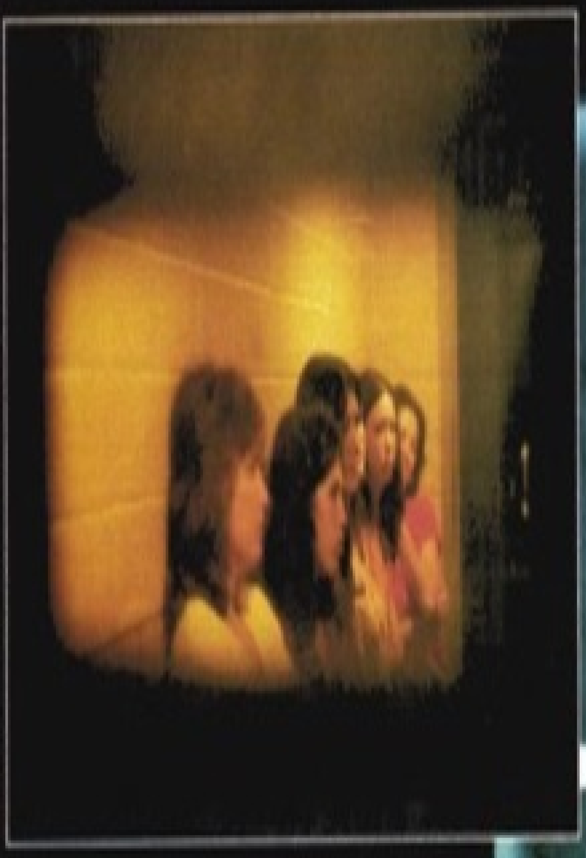
Christina Hoag is a freelance journalist based in Caracas.

Crime and Punishment - The Facts

Rates for serious violent crime are more or less stable but prison populations and the resources expended on the crime-control industry are both expanding rapidly. While the US leads, the trend is the same almost everywhere.

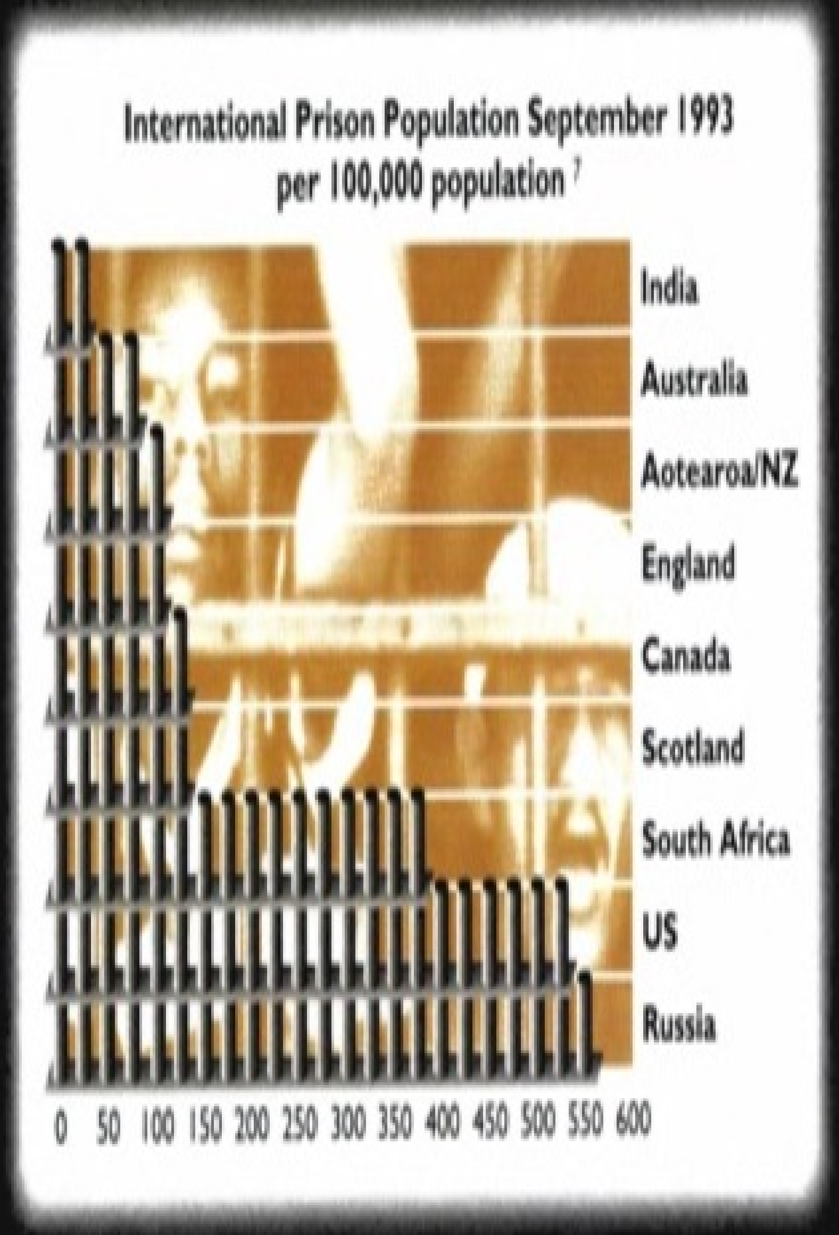
Petty crime

Large numbers of people are being rounded up and are doing jail time for non-violent, often quite petty crime or even the failure to pay fines.


MICHEL FOLCO / FRANK SPOONER

- The 11,846,833 US arrests in 1994 included 86,733 for prostitution, 1,117,323 for drug offences, 600,345 for disorderly conduct, 105,781 for curfew and loitering violations, 200,863 runaways and 21,407 for vagrancy.[1]
- In the UK in 1994 22,723 persons were imprisoned for defaulting on fines – an increase of 36% for men and 68% for women over 1990. In 80% of the cases the cost of incarceration exceeded the amount of the fine.[2]
- In 1994 503 men and 260 women were imprisoned in Britain for their failure to pay fines for not having a TV licence.[2]
- By the end of 1994 there were 5.1 million in the US on probation, in prison, or on parole – nearly 3% of the population.[3]
- By the end of 1993 there were 47.8 million criminal histories on file in the US – nearly one for every five people.[3] During the last 20 years US prison populations have quadrupled and some places spend more on incarcerating people than on educating them.[4]

Rates of incarceration


International Prison Population September 1993 per 100,000 population [7]

JOSE SARDA

Crime panic

Public perceptions often outstrip the real threat:

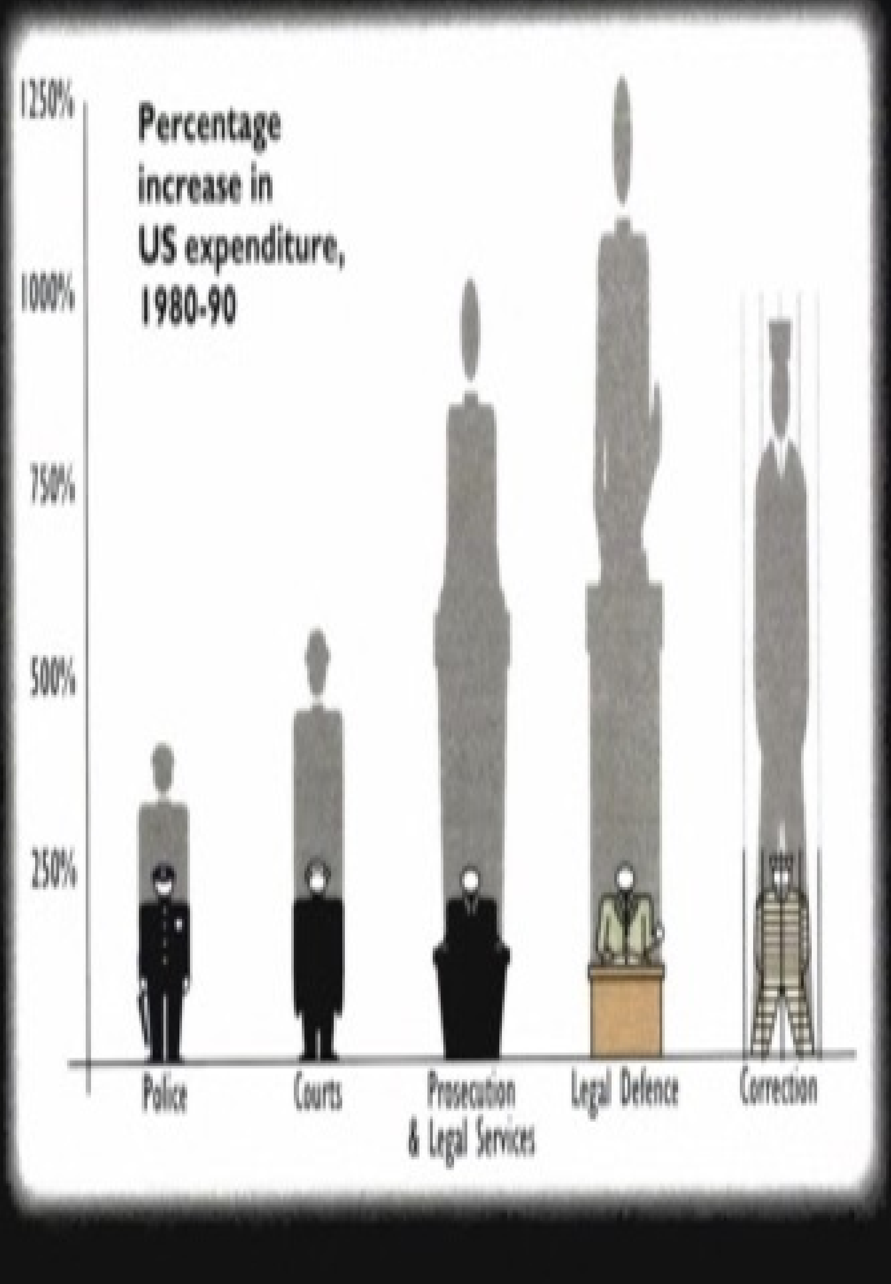
SIMON SHEPHEARD / IMPACT

- In the US crime and law enforcement shows account for 30% of total television.[5]
- An adult in the UK can expect to experience a robbery once every five centuries, an injurious assault once every century, a burglary every 40 years and the family car stolen every 50 years.[6]
- A 1994 police report in the Australian state of New South Wales indicated that despite falling crime rates there was growing citizen alarm over crime. Some 58% feared being attacked, 48% feared being murdered and 25% feared having their children abused or sexually assaulted.[6]

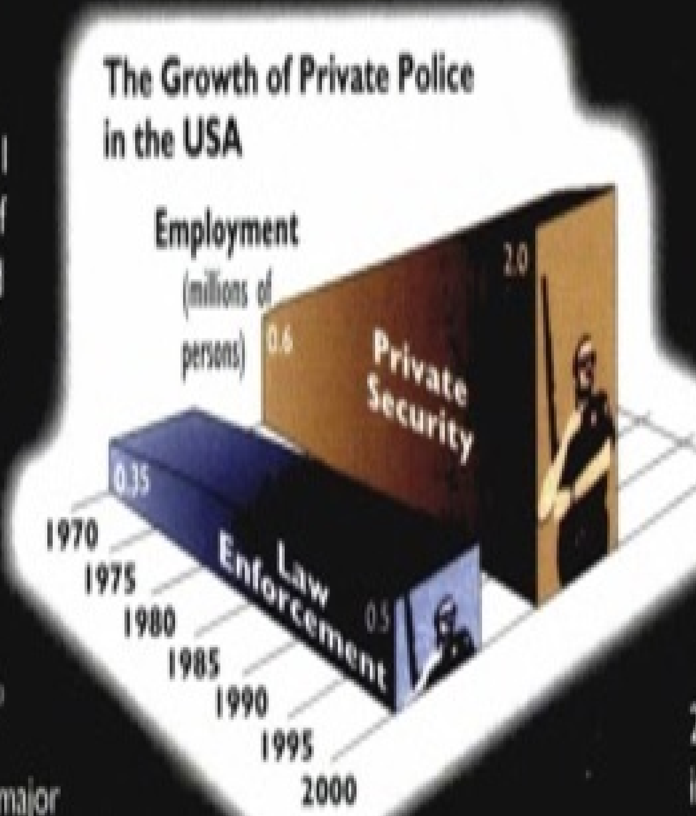
LAURENCE ACLAND

The money trail

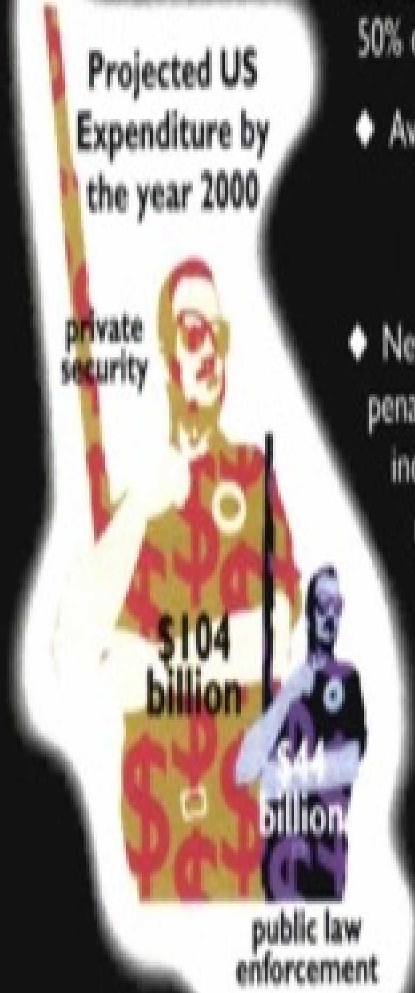
- By the mid-1990s the US was spending in excess of $200 billion annually on the crime-control industry.[14]
- An individual sentenced to five years for a $300 theft costs the public approximately $125,000.[8]
- A Rand Corporation Study predicts California's new three-strikes-and-you're-out law will cost an additional $5.5 billion in criminal-justice expenditures.[9]


Percentage increase in US expenditure, 1980-90

- In Canada between 1971 and 1991 the number of police officers increased 41% and the number of private security guards increased by 126%. By 1991 private security forces outnumbered police by about 2 to 1.[10]


The Growth of Private Police in the USA

- In the US two major companies account for 50% of private contracts to run prisons.[11]
- Average yearly cost per inmate (1994)[12]
  US $30,000 Aotearoa $40,000
  Canada $51,000
- New Conservative proposals for a tougher penal regime will increase the UK's incarcerated population by 28,000 and require the building of 48 new prisons at an estimated cost of $4.5 billion and an additional running cost of $945 million.[13]


Projected US Expenditure by the year 2000

The war on drugs

- Some 60% of prisoners in US penitentiaries are there for drug offences. In 1992 some 3,000 drug offenders with no record of violent crime in the last 15 years were sentenced to minimum terms of at least 5 years.[3]
- The 1988 anti-drug abuse act imposes a mandatory minimum sentence of 5 years for possession of more than 5 grams of crack cocaine (predominantly consumed by blacks) on a first offence. You need to possess 100 times that amount of powdered cocaine (predominantly consumed by whites) to get a 5 year mandatory minimum.[8]

M PETERSON / JB PICTURES / NETWORK

- In 1992 the US Public Health Service estimated that 76% of illicit drug-users in the US were white, 14% black and 8% Hispanic. Yet in NY State 92% of all drug-possession offenders sentenced to prison were black and Hispanic and in California it was 71%.[8]

The colour of justice

EVE ARNOLD / MAGNUM

- The number of white juveniles brought into the US criminal justice system increased by 1% during 1987-88; for non-whites it increased by 42%. In 1991 the US national incarceration rate was 310 per 100,000; amongst white males it was 352; amongst black males between the ages of 25 and 29 it was 6,301.[3]
- One in three black men (aged 20-29) in LA county are jailed annually. In 1990 on an average day one in every four black men in the US were either in jail, prison or on probation/parole. In Washington DC 75% of African-American males could look forward to being arrested and jailed at least once before age 35.[3]
- In Canada indigenous people make up some 5% of the total population but 32% of the federal inmate population.[4] There has been a 204% increase (whites 23%) in the number of blacks incarcerated in the Canadian province of Ontario between 1986 and 1994.[15]
- In the state of Western Australia aborigines make up 3% of the population yet account for 51% of all people sentenced by high courts to imprisonment – 75% for less than three months.[6]

Cruel and unusual punishment

- Between 1927 and 1956 58,000 prison inmates were sterilized in the US.[8]
- There are currently 3,000 people on death-row in the US. There have been 400 wrongful capital convictions and 23 wrongful executions in the US this century. Some 20% of Georgia's death-row inmates are severely mentally handicapped. Texas spends an estimated $2.3 million on every capital case, three times the cost of a 40 year sentence.[8]
- Between 1930 and 1972, 455 people were executed for rape in the US, 405 of them black.[8]

ALAIN LE GARSMEUR / IMPACT

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1 *Uniform Crime Statistics*, FBI, 1994. 2 *The Imprisonment of Fine Defaulters*, Penal Affairs Consortium, July 1995. 3 *Search and Destroy: African-American Males in the Criminal Justice System*, Jerome Miller, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1996. 4 *The Slammer: The Crisis in Canada's Prison System*, Kevin Marron, Doubleday, Toronto, 1996. 5 *The Persistent Prison: Rethinking Decarceration and Penal Reform*, Maeve McMahon, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1992. 6 *Restorative Justice: Healing the Effects of Crime*, Jim Consedine, Ploughshares Publications, Christchurch, 1995. 7 *Prison Statistics England and Wales 1994*, HM Prison Service. 8 *It's All the Rage: Crime and Culture*, Wendy Kaminer, Addison-Wesley, New York, 1995. 9 *American Bar Association Journal*, 1995. 10 *Statscan Juristat*, 1994, Vol.14 no. 10, Statistics Canada. 11 *Punishment for Profit*, David Shichor, Sage, Thousand Oaks, 1995. 12 *Just Give Us the Facts*, Ruth Morris, 1994. 13 *Sentencing and Early Release*, Penal Affairs Consortium, December, 1995. 14 *The Crime Control Industry*, Nils Christie, Routledge, New York, 1993. 15 Globe and Mail, 16th January 96.

What you learn in prison

Kevin Marron spent several years investigating life in Canada's prisons. What he found is not encouraging.

A SEMI-RECLUSE in her highrise apartment, tormented by memories of friends who slashed and hanged themselves in prison cells, Theresa Ann Glaremin feels like a refugee from a war zone. Like the displaced Bosnian people whom she has seen on television, Glaremin has lived for years with anger, pain, cruelty and violence. She too has lost her place in the world. Her eight years in Canada's notorious Prison for Women have taught her fear of everyday life, disrespect for authority and a profound distrust in the values that society is supposed to espouse.

'I can't forget the things that happened in there. I'll never be free,' the 46-year-old woman tells me, as she struggles to control a panic attack that leaves her trembling, sobbing and gasping for breath.

Prisons are supposed to rehabilitate as well as punish. Judges often send offenders to jail to 'learn a lesson'. But few of the lessons learned in prison are positive, and most prisoners return to society in worse shape than when they went in.

Not that the majority were in good shape to begin with. My investigation of Canada's so-called correctional system introduced me to prisoners who had grown up with family violence, sexual abuse, mental-health problems, alcoholism, drug dependency, unemployment, and the cultural and social deprivation of aboriginal communities. Prison perpetuated and entrenched their problems, deepening their feelings of hopelessness and rage.

'Prison stripped away my culture, my morals and my social class,' says Glaremin, who maintains she is innocent of the manslaughter of which she was convicted, a crime that occurred in the context of domestic violence. Now legally free, but mostly withdrawn into her private world, Glaremin tries to work through her pain by writing poetry, drama and songs. But, she exclaims, 'I don't know what I have to do so I can live in this world without fear'.

Many male prisoners are also afraid of the world, but respond with anger and aggression rather than withdrawal. The lessons they learned in prison have made them dangerous as well as dysfunctional.

Violence

Prisoners in tense and overcrowded penitentiaries live in an environment where a knife to the throat or a metal pipe to the back of the head is a socially appropriate response to an insult or indiscretion. People may be attacked for looking someone in the eye, glancing into someone else's cell or, as in one case described to me, taking too long in the shower. Prisoners must be ready to defend themselves at all times and failure to retaliate will likely be exploited as a sign of weakness.

CHRIS STEELE-PERKINS / MAGNUM

This culture of violence and fear very quickly teaches prisoners how to fashion lethal weapons out of toothbrushes, ballpoint pens, chair legs and other household objects. The best way to earn respect in prison is to act with extreme violence and get in the first blow. If that blow happens to be a stab in the back, so much the better, since prisoners will tell you that there is no such thing as a fair fight in jail. Ex-offenders sometimes find themselves instinctively reaching for a weapon when jostled on the street or insulted by someone at a bar.

Prisoners learn intolerance and cruelty in an environment where sex offenders, informants and prisoners with mental-health problems are persecuted. Some prisoners learn to enjoy violence and the status that brutality and ruthlessness can earn in jail. A prisoner at one maximum-security penitentiary recalls a buzz of eager anticipation in his cellblock whenever a killing was expected. 'I used to look forward to it. We would have a lockdown and the police would come in. It was entertaining.'

Others learn to look the other way, condoning violence or ignoring it, sinking into apathy or indifference. One former prisoner confesses that she used to get mad when there was a fight or another woman slashed herself, because the noise of people screaming would drown out the soap operas on her television.

Authority

Prison life-skills programs teach prisoners how to deal with conflict in non-violent ways. But guards do not take these courses. Daily interactions with guards reinforce many prisoners' belief that violence, intimidation and force are normal ways of dealing with problems.

When a male riot squad was called into the Prison for Women in Kingston, Ontario, to quell a group of rebellious women, their actions were recorded on a videotape that was subsequently shown on television. The Canadian public was shocked by images of women being stripped, shackled, prodded with batons and forcibly removed from their cells by men in riot suits and helmets. But prison insiders view such gross disregard for decency and human rights as part of a continuum of injustice and abuse that inmates must learn to accept as a basic condition of their daily lives.

The notion that injustice and hypocrisy are inherent in the system encourages many prisoners to minimize their own guilt. They see themselves as victims of a legal system that does not deserve to be respected or obeyed. Some prisoners also associate the harsh or abusive treatment they receive from guards with their own past experiences as victims of abuse. Their feelings of humiliation and helplessness encourage them to respect themselves and other people less.

Learning a McJob: but low-end trades often aren't enough to keep people out of prison.

CHRIS STEELE-PERKINS / MAGNUM

Theresa Glaremin tells me that she resorted to the same coping mechanisms she had learned as a child: 'I withdrew and dissociated, as I did when I was young and being raped by my brothers. I used to have faith in the system, but once the system treats you like a nothing, all the things that you used to think were precious aren't any more. I view things so differently now. I don't trust anyone in uniform.'

From guards, prisoners learn to accept humiliation and respond with docility. But many of them bottle up a simmering rage that comes out in their other everyday dealings, both inside the prison and after their release.

Drugs

For a drug dealer, a prison sentence is a business opportunity. In a society that puts more drug abusers in jail than in treatment centres there will always be a demand for dope in prison. There will always be visitors, staff or tradespeople to smuggle drugs in. Prison life encourages people to use drugs more. Prisoners resort to drugs to relieve tensions and boredom. Even non-users feel pressured to indulge, so that their peers do not suspect them of being informants.

People learn to use hard drugs in prison, since urinalysis tests are more likely to detect marijuana or Valium than heroin, which metabolizes faster. Unfortunately, prison drug users learn to disregard warnings about using dirty needles. Heroin is relatively plentiful in jail, but needles are scarce and may be shared by as many as 15 prisoners on the same range.

Prisoners often return to the community with a heroin habit and a high risk of HIV infection. Their prison contacts will ensure that they have ready access to drug dealers on the street.

Sex

All prisoners must learn to deal with sex in prison. Those who try to form or maintain relationships with partners on the outside face myriad difficulties and may learn to relate in dysfunctional ways. Conjugal visits provide brief periods of intimacy, emotionally charged with tremendous pressures and expectations, but divorced from the everyday concerns of a normal relationship.

Some prisoners are victims of rape or find themselves drawn into abusive, manipulative relationships. Others choose same-sex relationships, but not necessarily for the same reasons that people might on the street. Homosexuality in jail often involves male/female role-playing by people who insist that they are heterosexuals by preference. Some prisoners learn a way of relating to others in jail that they can never find on the street. For example, Joe, a prison drag queen, explains that he found love and happiness in prison, but: 'It's hard to go out on the street and say: "I'm married. My husband's in jail. Here's my ring."'

Apathy

Many people believe that tough prison sentences teach inmates discipline. But they usually have the opposite effect, making prisoners passive and lazy. In a maximum-security prison, inmates are told when to leave their cells in the morning, when to go to work and when to go to bed. Meals are served on trays. More securely controlled prisoners have the trays brought to their cells. Prisoners forget how to shop, cook, look for work and generally fend for themselves. 'Sometimes I wish I was back in that cell. It was so easy,' confides one former prisoner.

On the street, ex-offenders sometimes stand in front of doors from force of habit, forgetting that they no longer have to wait for guards to let them through. They are confused at fast-food restaurant counters because they are not used to making any choices. When confronted with a complicated form or an awkward question at an employment office, they are likely to cover their embarrassment with anger.

Some of the angriest and most dangerous prisoners spend years in super-maximum-security prisons, watched by armed guards and shackled whenever they are moved. They learn to look for security lapses and take advantage of the slightest opportunity to exchange drugs, make weapons or settle scores. Often, they feel comfortable relying on guards to keep them under control. Back on the street, they have no self-control and see countless opportunities for crime. As one heavily tattooed muscular young man explains: 'I've got a sawed-off shot gun within half an hour of getting out. I pass a bank. I see money changing hands. I say: "That's not protected. I own all that."'

Selfishness

Prison teaches you to be selfish and suspicious of other people. Helen, a former inmate at the Prison for Women, realized this change in herself when a neighbour knocked at her door asking if she could spare some milk. Before her long sentence, Helen lived communally, espousing ideals of peace and co-operation. Now she was asking herself: 'What's in it for me? What's her angle? Is she trying to con me?' One has to ask such questions in prison, because people are continually trying to con one another and it is dangerous to be perceived as an easy mark.

Cut off from any real community, their family ties often severed or strained, prisoners turn in on themselves, preoccupied with their own problems, grievances and plans. Deprived of real opportunities for growth and change, they remain in a state of arrested development. When Helen emerged from prison, a woman in her late thirties, she wanted to 'party', and drive fast cars. She still had the interests and desires of the younger woman she used to be. It was hard for her to relate to her contemporaries, who had careers and families, growing up in the real world.

Conclusion

It is perhaps somewhat paranoid to believe, as does Theresa Glaremin, that guards expect that inmates will commit more crimes and return to jail in future. Jail guards do not need to drum up more business in a world where crime is rigorously prosecuted, but poverty and other social ills ignored. It is probably more reasonable to conclude that it is in spite of the best efforts of most staff members to create a rehabilitative environment that prisons teach people to be more violent, angry, helpless and hopeless.

Whatever the motives and rationales of the jailers, the results are the same: Theresa, trembling when she sees someone in uniform, even if it is only a traffic warden; Joe, the prison drag queen, carrying a knife because he's afraid of everyone he meets on the street; Helen, suspicious of her neighbours, trying to resist the temptation to use heroin as an escape. What they learned in prison and what they forgot, the habits and attitudes they acquired, may hold them captive for the rest of their lives. Nothing will change until society learns that our system of punishment only serves to demean, impoverish and endanger us all. ■

Kevin Marron's exposé of Canadian prisons, *The Slammer*, was published by Doubleday this spring.

In your face

Kenya's police act more like an occupying army than a civilian upholder of the peace. **Cathy Majtenyi** reports on a police force out of control.

An altercation with Nairobi's dreaded police was the last thing on Duncan Karonjo Mureu's mind as he and several friends got out of a *matatu* (taxi) near his home on the evening of 23 March 1996. The 35-year-old musician and father of two was looking forward to a night of camaraderie at a bar in Zimmerman Estate, a middle-class residential neighbourhood of houses and low-rises in the north area of the city. Strolling toward the bar, the group of friends stopped off at a kiosk to greet a hawker they knew who sold hard-boiled eggs. The four drunken police officers who were munching on the hawker's eggs weren't glad to see them. The police started pushing around one of Mureu's friends.

Hands in his pockets, Mureu made the mistake of asking why. Immediately showered with fists, feet and rifle butts, he was left for dead. Though taken to the hospital, Mureu was discharged by a doctor who said his injuries were not serious. Re-admitted several hours later with a fractured skull, he died the next morning of a blood clot to the brain. A murder charge against one of the officers is before the courts. The case could take months to resolve. The other three officers are still on active duty. Mureu's friend, John Mwangi (not his real name), is not holding his breath. 'The police have become very powerful,' he says. 'People don't like to be at loggerheads with the police. Tomorrow they may come back and harass you some more.'

Mureu is one of over 35 people killed by the police in the first three months of 1996. Human-rights groups note with alarm a dramatic rise in arbitrary arrests, beatings and shoot-to-kill incidents committed by the police. According to records of the Nairobi-based Kenya Human Rights Commission, extra-judicial killings by the police almost tripled, from 45 cases in 1994 to 120 cases last year. There were 101 cases of police brutality in 1995 as compared to 42 cases in 1994. Arbitrary arrests sky-rocketed from 392 in 1994 to 2,104 in 1995.

CHRISTOPHER PILLITZ / NETWORK

Nairobi's lively street-life – but the threat of police violence can dampen the party.

'Shoot-to-kill seems to be the law of the land, especially in the last few months,' says human rights activist Njeri Kabeberi. 'It can be used against political people who are then passed off as robbery suspects.' The Nairobi police operate with virtual impunity, despite a Criminal Code requiring a public inquest for deaths in police custody and strict use of firearm controls under the Police Act.

Police killing, beating and harassment date back to colonial days. East Africa's first organized security force was formed when the Imperial British East Africa Company hired locals in 1887 to protect stations along the caravan route from Mombassa to Uganda. They were known as *askaris* (armed guards), a term still used to describe police officers and security guards today. The police were all trained with a key function: to protect the government in power. This practice continued after Kenya's independence in 1963. The current government of Daniel arap Moi deploys the police to break up political meetings, arrest and detain members of the opposition, keep tabs on activists, shut down treasonous publications, demolish kiosks and squatter homes owned by the poor. Intimidation ensures that police are not held accountable for their actions.

Day to day, the Kenyan police maintain an in-your-face presence, particularly through the *toa kitu kidogo* ('give me a little something') practice. 'The police can stop you anywhere, any time and ask for your ID,' says Adongo (who declined to give his last name). 'If you don't have it, they ask for a bribe.' Adongo recalls how he and two friends were walking toward a *matatu* stand when they were surrounded by a group of police who demanded to see their identification. One of Adongo's friends showed his Kenyan driver's licence, which proved unsatisfactory. The officers hit him and tried to force him back to the police station. Terrified, Adongo's friend began screaming for the officers to shoot him rather than take him away. As the police loaded their guns in compliance, Adongo and his other companion proffered a bribe. For the staggering sum of KSh200 (approximately $2) the police allowed Adongo's friend to live.

The fear expressed by Adongo's friend at the prospect of going to jail isn't surprising. Once convicted, offenders enter a prison system referred to as 'the death chamber' by one high-court judge. Home Affairs Minister Francis Lotodo reported last October that 819 prisoners that year had died of malaria, dysentery, AIDS and other communicable diseases. By July 1995, Kenya's 78 prisons had a population of about 50,000 – though the facilities are designed to hold 21,000. With no resettlement programs or halfway houses, prisoners on their release are shunned and often return to a life of crime.

If they manage to dodge the bullets and fists, suspects find themselves in a court system riddled with bureaucracy, corruption and inconsistency.

Sentencing for crimes against property is much harsher than for those against people. At the end of March this year, a man who killed his wife in a domestic dispute was sentenced to one year in prison by a court in Kisii. A 60-year-old clinical officer who allegedly raped a 13-year-old girl was acquitted after paying the girl's mother a large sum of money (he was re-arrested, however, following a public outcry). Meanwhile, in October last year, a man was sentenced to death by a Karatina court for violently robbing another man of a torch, wristwatch and KSh1,300 ($13). His case was one of three death sentences – all for robbery – handed down in the last three months of 1995. While Kenya still has the death penalty, there have been no executions since 1985.

These examples also show how lightly the system treats crime against women. Delegates at a National Commission on the Status of Women seminar in mid-March called for a special police unit dealing with domestic violence against women to be created, as well as stiffer sentencing.

Yet a large segment of Kenyan society thinks its cops are tops. A national abhorrence of property crimes finds many in a love-hate relationship with the police. They condemn police bribes and other annoyances but look the other way and even actively support the police if they feel they are serious about fighting crime. In mid-November last year, following a dramatic rise in the number of armed carjackings and home invasions, there was a flood of protest from the normally low-key expatriate community of Nairobi. The Government sprang quickly into action. Police Commissioner Shadrach Kiruki announced the formation of the Flying Squad, a crack anti-crime unit aimed largely at carjackers. The anti-corruption squad was beefed up. Crime hotlines were set up in all major urban centres across Kenya. A new Tourist Police Unit was put into operation. This action, however, is in response to the outcry of the economic élite in Kenya – the vast majority of citizens, needless to say, do not own cars.

Not that the general population is completely helpless. A cry of *mwizi* (thief) from someone whose purse is being snatched or whose cattle are being rustled means almost certain death for the perpetrator. Even the suspicion that someone is a thief or a murderer can attract a mob of outraged vigilantes who have been known to grind the suspect into a pulp. The Kenya Human Rights Commission reports an astounding increase – from 54 cases in 1994 to 138 cases in 1995 – of this kind of mob violence. Women who go against social norms are also targets for mob justice. At the end of January, for instance, a Westlands hairdresser who was shopping in downtown Nairobi was stripped naked and beaten by a crowd of male hawkers. Her crime? She wore a mini-skirt. Following that incident, the *Sunday Nation* published a list of how women can avoid giving the impression that they are 'a lady of easy virtue'.

Atieno (who declined to give her last name) knows the dangers of appearance all too well. She is often mistaken for an Ethiopian or Somali refugee. Last April, police stopped her and asked for identification. Unsatisfied with her passport, they took her to a police station, beat her, charged her with prostitution and threatened to send her back to Ethiopia. Atieno had to give them KSh200 before being released. 'I always look behind my back,' she says. 'I'm not looking out for criminals; I'm looking out for the police.'

In this war-against-crime mania, public and police feed off each other. Kenya's police are infamous for their swoops in which hundreds of 'aliens' are arrested to flush the area of criminals. People want to feel vindicated. For the average Kenyan, every material possession is won with hard work and ingenuity. Good jobs are hard to come by. Structural-adjustment policies ensure that no social safety net will catch people who fall into the cracks of unemployment, disease or accident. Poverty is commonplace and severe. In this climate, people hold dearly what little they have. Ironically the same conditions also form an ideal breeding ground for crime. In a society where a precious few reap staggering economic and political rewards, people on the knife-edge of survival have little to lose by turning to crime. ■

Cathy Majtenyi is a journalist who has written on the police for the *Nairobi Herald*.

IMPACT VISUALS

Simply - The Pun

We are used to thinking of criminals as a tiny minority different from the rest of us. But, as unemployment and inequality soar, governments are investing in police and prisons as a way of dealing with a desperate and growing underclass. The **NI** dissects the powerful forces behind the crime-control industry.

Squeezing democracy

The traditional pro-police bias in the courts is becoming even more pronounced as defendants' rights are whittled away in the current law-and-order climate. High-tech policing as a means of social control widens the criminal net and narrows the rights of the suspect. Courts are clogged and prisons overcrowded. Mandatory sentences for certain crimes (drugs, use of firearms, multiple convictions) are increasing prison terms and narrowing court discretion. Legal aid to defend usually impoverished suspects is being cut back. The complex moral and philosophical issues involved with crime and punishment are ignored as the system 'processes' wrong-doers.

Crime panic

In an era of 'downsizing' in both industry and government there is a profound sense of public insecurity. Despite dropping or stagnant rates for most violent crimes (although an increase in poverty-related property crimes) sensationalistic media and opportunistic politicians have whipped up public hysteria about 'crime waves' and the 'soft' treatment of criminals. Crime panic often has a racial bias whether it is associated with Arabs in Toulon, West Indians in Birmingham, Gypsies in Eastern Europe or Afro-Americans in Georgia. Fear and repression march hand in hand with discrimination.

Privatization

The security industry has become a major growth centre in modern post-industrial economies. Private police and security firms; privately run jails and reform schools; prison design and construction; the manufacture of elaborate security technologies (alarm systems, drug-testing, identification procedures, electronic imprisonment); the production and export of police weaponry and riot-control gear: all these provide employment and profit. The crime-control industry forms a domestic version of the military-industrial complex, with a growing stake in the public purse. The panic-fuelled war on crime provides needed jobs and grateful advocates.

ishment Machine

DONNA BINDER / IMPACT VISUALS

Expanding the net

The vast majority of matters dealt with by the criminal-justice system are non-violent, often petty. Prostitution, drug-offences, non-payment of fines, car theft, social-security fraud, loitering, curfew violations, shop-lifting: all these often end in prison sentences (sometimes quite long ones). Criminal justice is being used to keep an increasingly desperate underclass from cheating to survive. The 'three strikes and you're out' legislation in some US states like California guarantees that many three-time (often petty) offenders will be taking up costly prison space for the rest of their lives. Russia and the US (and probably China) have the largest percentages of people in prison but some Southern countries like South Africa and Singapore are catching up.

The revolving door

More people going to jail means overcrowding in prisons so bad that even the semblance of rehabilitation is being abandoned. Cuts in family-support services, particularly those that protect abused children, ensure a steady stream of 'criminal' material. Prisons are in effect becoming 'schools for crime' in which young offenders graduate to much more serious criminal careers. The inmate culture in most prisons ensures that violent behaviour is needed to survive. Such behaviour leaves the prison with the inmate on release. Hard drug habits are also easy to come by behind bars. The notion that public safety can be guarded by simply 'locking them up' forgets that you may one day meet angry and vengeful ex-inmates on the street.

Social cleansing

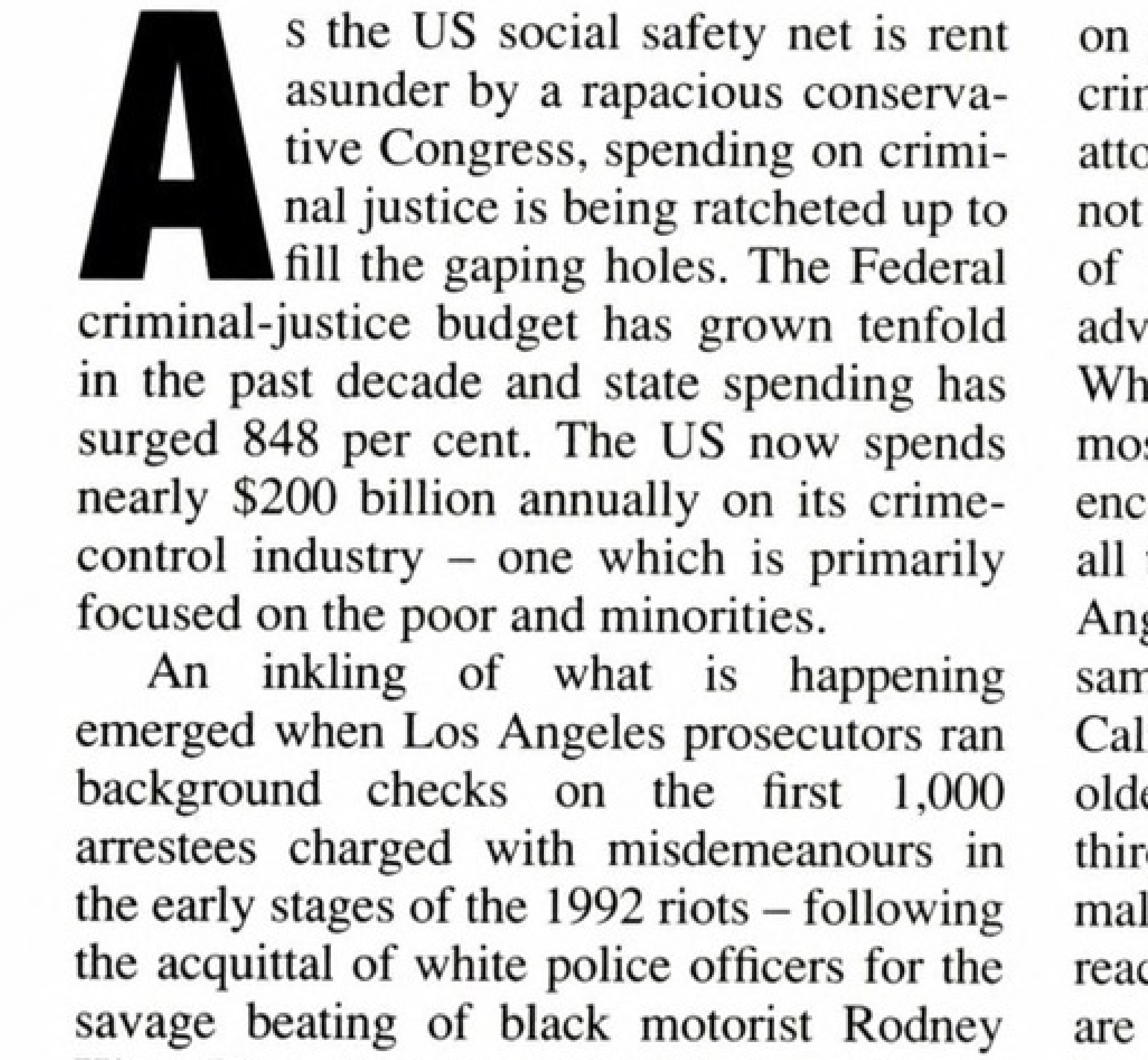
Many countries in the Third World cannot afford to keep a large percentage of their underclass in prison – resources are too scarce and the poor too many. Arbitrary policing is the preferred way of dealing with a runaway crime problem. In Latin American countries like Colombia, Brazil and Guatemala this takes the form of 'social cleansing' whereby street youth, homosexuals, prostitutes or other undesirables are arbitrarily executed by police or private-security forces. Sometimes this is done at the behest of local merchants or other corporate clients. Underpaid police sometimes extort money from criminals, merchants and even victims of crime in order to make ends meet. Police often act and are regarded more as an army of occupation than as guarantors of public safety.

From safety net to dragnet

If you are young, black and male you might be excused for thinking that the US is the land of the incarcerated rather than that of the free. **Jerome Miller** exposes the American Gulag and the police-state mentality that underpins it.

As the US social safety net is rent asunder by a rapacious conservative Congress, spending on criminal justice is being ratcheted up to fill the gaping holes. The Federal criminal-justice budget has grown tenfold in the past decade and state spending has surged 848 per cent. The US now spends nearly $200 billion annually on its crime-control industry – one which is primarily focused on the poor and minorities.

An inkling of what is happening emerged when Los Angeles prosecutors ran background checks on the first 1,000 arrestees charged with misdemeanours in the early stages of the 1992 riots – following the acquittal of white police officers for the savage beating of black motorist Rodney King. They discovered that 40 per cent were on probation or parole and 60 per cent had criminal records. Los Angeles deputy city attorney John Wilson commented: 'This was not an instantaneous "good-guy-rage" kind of thing. This was a "bad guy" taking advantage of a situation out of control.' What he neglected to point out was that most young black males in LA had experience with the county jail system. A third of all the young black men aged 20-29 in Los Angeles County had already been jailed that same year. State-wide, 104,000 of California's 625,000 black men aged 16 and older are being arrested each year. Two-thirds of all the 18-year-old, non-white males in California are arrested before reaching the age of 30. The same patterns are showing up everywhere in the country. In Baltimore, Maryland, 75 per cent of African-American men will acquire a criminal record before the age of 35. This makes it pretty hard to sort out the 'good guys' from the 'bad guys'.



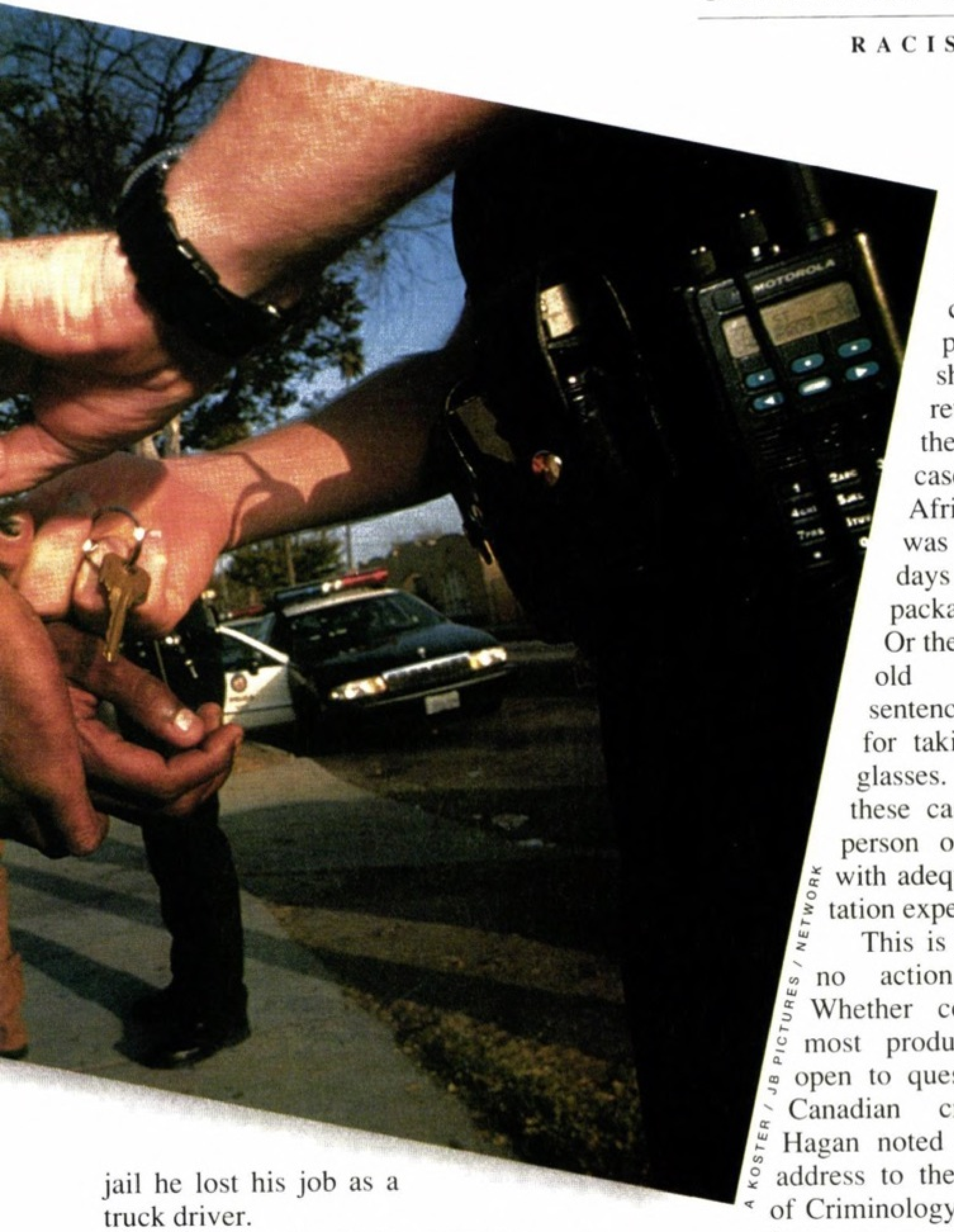
Beat first, ask questions later: Rodney King's laywer holds up King's picture after his beating at the hands of the LAPD.

T GERSON / FRANK SPOONER

If being arrested and having a record is the prime criteria for being a criminal, there are more criminals in our midst than we may care to recognize. The US maintains 50 million active criminal records. Very little of this frenetic law-enforcement activity has to do with serious crime. Of the 14 million arrests annually, only about 2.5 million are for so-called 'index' offences. Among the highest number of bookings by charge, according to a 1991 July-September review in Duval County, Florida, were: aggravated assault at 680; petty theft (ie shoplifting) at 1,266; traffic offences (not including driving under the influence) at 2,505; and 'other offences' at 2,666. These are charges, not convictions: as many as half of the felony charges – including 80 per cent of the charges for aggravated assault – would not be sustained.

Though a small percentage of this police activity concerned violent crimes, most had to do with these lesser matters. The sheriff aggressively cultivated the perception that violent crime was out of control, demanding bigger jails, more police, more armamentaria (eg sophisticated computerization, criminal-history retrieval, computerized fingerprint scanners and helicopters). A 31-per-cent increase in crime was noted between 1988 and 1991 (while the county was seeking public support for massive jail building). The Sheriff's office reported that 3,273 more persons were arrested in July through September 1991 than during the same three months in 1988. However, 85 per cent of the increase fell under two categories: 'Traffic' (excluding drunk driving) and 'Other', a loosely defined category which included such deadly crimes as feeding of alligator or crocodile, resisting without violence, trespassing, non-support, feeding unsterilized garbage to animals, contempt, and impersonating a massage license holder.

- A young African-American man suffering from asthma and pneumonia was in jail 22 days on $1,500 bond. He had been jailed as a probation violator for not paying $35 in court costs on a four-month-old petty-theft (shoplifting) charge. While in



A KOSTER / JB PICTURES / NETWORK

jail he lost his job as a truck driver.

- A 38-year-old African-American electronic engineer – well-dressed, middle-class – was jailed for 'allowing an unauthorized operator to drive'. As the arrest summary put it: 'The suspect, who owns the listed vehicle, allowed the co-defendant to drive his car. She did not have a driver's license and was advised that her license was suspended for failing to pay traffic fines. He was arrested.'
- A 30-year-old man was jailed after having been released from a Florida state prison two weeks earlier, where he had served 6 years. He was out three days and, as per the law, went to the police station to inform them that he was back in town. He was arrested on the spot. He had not paid a four-year-old traffic fine. He was in state prison when the warrant was issued and was unaware of it.

As criminologist Robert Tillman noted, these numbers say less about criminal behaviour than about the 'social-structural conditions that adversely affect large numbers of young adult males, particularly those within certain strata of society'. When the justice juggernaut is wheeled into our inner-city streets it tends to crush those more easily identified by race, attitude and socio-economic status than by serious criminal behaviour.

Take the following typical cases from my experience as a federal monitor on jail-overcrowding in a large southern city. In one instance, an 18-year-old African-American was sentenced to 45 days for 'petty theft', having been charged with taking one cigarette out of a pack on a store shelf, smoking it and returning the pack to the shelf. In another case, a 32-year-old African-American man was sentenced to 60 days for shoplifting a package of lunch meat. Or there was the 32-year-old African-American sentenced to four months for taking a pair of sunglasses. In very few of these cases would a white person of moderate means with adequate legal representation expect to be jailed.

This is not to suggest that no action was necessary. Whether confinement is the most productive approach is open to question, however. As Canadian criminologist John Hagan noted in his presidential address to the American Society of Criminology, 'there is evidence that contacts with the justice system have especially negative effects for underclass males. Even if most underclass males who are arrested do not go to jail, the experience of arrest can have long-term, even inter-generational repercussions...a criminal-arrest record has detrimental consequences for labour-market outcomes, with negative effects on employment as much as eight years later.'

Are there alternative ways to address crime? Being reasonable, we would have to return to wrestling with 'root causes'. But this blunt truth hasn't changed that much. The work to be done in the cities requires massive infusions of funding for rebuilding of the infrastructure, family-support systems, nutrition, improved education, employment opportunities, housing and adequate family income. Relying on the criminal-justice system to deal with these problems simply exacerbates the very pathologies it claims to treat, perversely producing enough new offenders to justify its own need to grow – more police, more courts and more prisons.

We need a different framework within which to consider those events which are potentially criminal. We need to develop processes that would encourage the handling of most such incidents outside the criminal-justice system altogether – through other types of sanctions, compensation, therapy, public health, education and civil procedure. These proposals fall short of this but rest on similar 'least-harm' premises. They are presented, not as a blueprint or plan, but as a means of chipping away at the edges of the fictitious entities called 'crimes' which the criminal-justice system produces in abundance and upon which so much current policy is based. We might begin by:

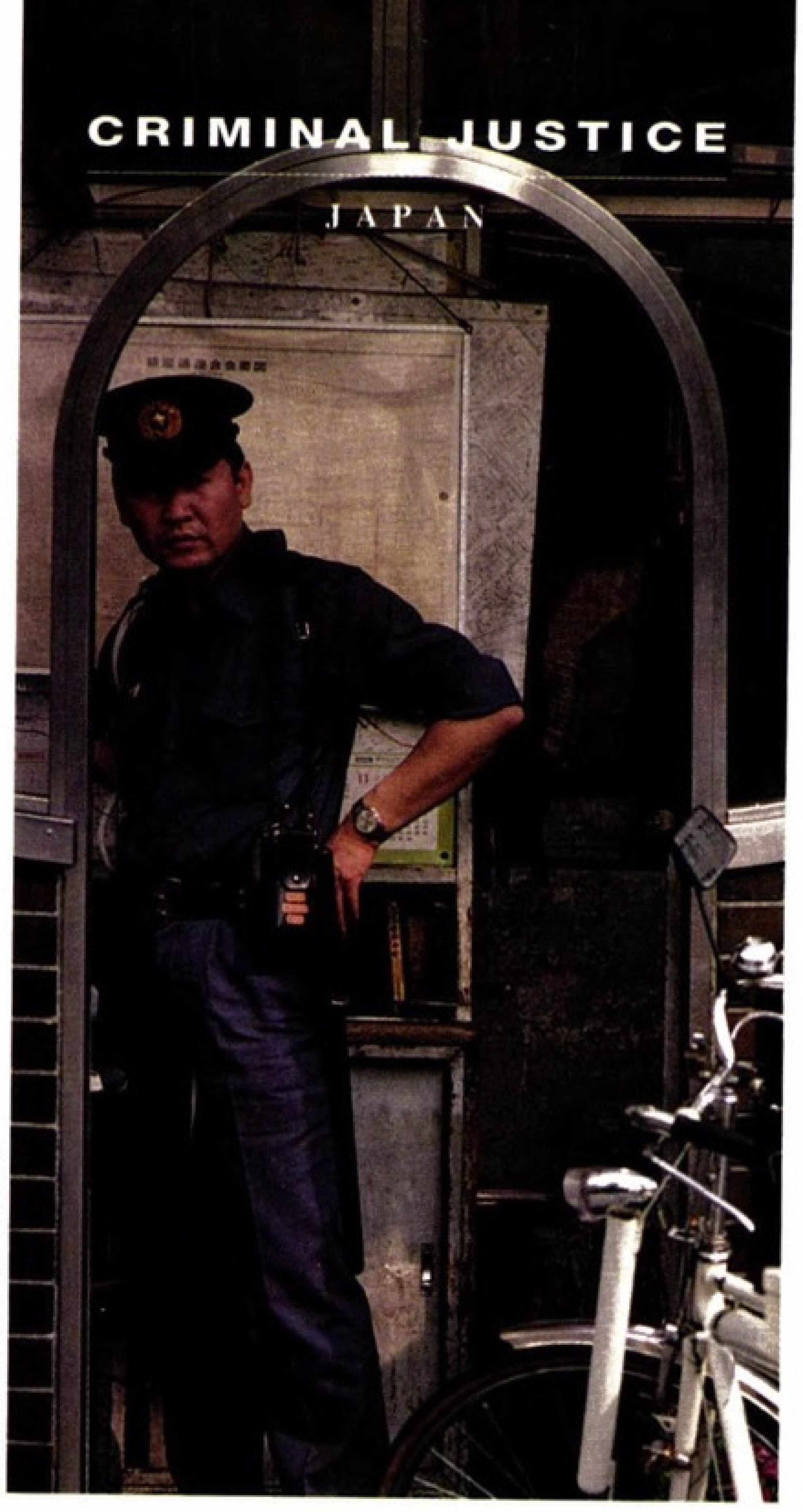
- Reporting crime based on convictions rather than arrests.
- Halting all police 'sting' operations likely to entice economically vulnerable individuals into crime, and stopping the use of 'snitches' in the inner-city drug war, which increases violence and devastates community social bonds.
- Mitigating the endemic opportunism which characterizes US prosecutorial practice by appointing, not electing, local prosecutors – barring both state and appointed federal prosecutors from running for any political office after having served in that role.
- Tailoring sentences to the strengths and weaknesses of the offender as well as the particularity of the crime; reshaping adult criminal-justice procedure to resemble the juvenile court in its original conception – reintroducing a sense of narrative to our considerations.
- Returning probation officers to their original role as unashamed advocates for criminal defendants, not as agents of the court or aides to the prosecutor.

> ***The US is well on the way to becoming a Gulag society in which the majority of young men of colour will be relegated to prisons or camps by the turn of the century***

- Demanding accountability of publicly funded human-service professionals such as social workers and guidance counsellors who routinely dump their clientele into the criminal-justice system.

None of this is likely to happen. The US is well on the way to becoming a Gulag society in which the majority of young men of colour will be relegated to prisons or camps by the turn of the century. Having put in place the conditions to ensure a self-fulfilling prophecy on crime control, we will move from disciplining an incorrigible population to controlling a disposable one. This very old adventure avoids the murkiness of root causes while offering a decidedly more comforting analysis to the majority. ■

Jerome Miller has worked in the US juvenile-justice field for many years. His most recent book *Search and Destroy: African-American Males and the Criminal Justice System*, was published by Cambridge University Press this spring.



BARRY LEWIS / NETWORK

Mr Walkabout

John Charles balances Japan's low crime rate with its culture of compulsory obedience.

ATTEMPTING reincarnation after this life's stony path would be the best sinecure of all: Tokyo policeman – law officer in a crimeless city. Hands behind his back, Omawari-San (Mr Walkabout) ambles amiably, pinching the babies, chatting to the shopkeepers, opening a shell-like ear to enquiries, poring over maps to help the postal service deliver letters. Japan's crime rate is about the lowest in the world – murder 1.47 per 100,000 of the population. Comparable US and British figures are 7.92 and 3.24. Armed robbery is at 1.82, compared with a US figure of 205.38 and 50.02 in Britain.

Grassroots police work seems to be helping drunks to throw up in the gutter and getting them to their train, telling feuding couples to cool it, and keeping a weather eye open for anything 'unusual'. Tokyo bobbies are information-gatherers, the eyes and ears of the establishment. For this reason bicycles are still more in evidence than cars. Gangs of idle teenagers are routinely approached and cajoled about the anxiety and shame that their loafing must be bringing to their families. Instead of a chorus of raucous defiance and filthy language, the officers are listened to with bowed heads and shuffling feet. More amazing still is the reaction accorded the volunteer 'watch committees' of elderly ladies who patrol the streets and tick off miscreants, rather to the embarrassment of the police. Armed with bags of uplifting literature, they venture into noisy back alleys only to emerge triumphant and unscathed. This is not so daring as it sounds; most Japanese will scratch their heads if asked to name any 'unsafe' areas.

Many Westerners would blink at turning the pages of a fairly high-quality newspaper and finding connoisseur brothel guides replete with addresses, photographs and details of daily specials. But whatever lascivious thoughts the newspapers induce, rape and sexual assault figures are minuscule. Tokyo remains, in the words of Peter Tasker, the city of 'lewd prudes'. The meeting of the sexes tends to be as bashful as anywhere on the planet, with the boys blushing into their colas and the girls giggling in the Japanese fashion. Malinowsky and Margaret Mead would not make much of it, and the Tobriand Islanders would give up and go home.

Virtual toddlers travel unaccompanied through the teeming city with scarcely a mishap. The pre-war fascist police were regarded with suspicion and fear, but today relations with the public have never been better. They can seem comic, these overgrown Boy Scouts with their porthole-glasses, great shiny holsters, night-sticks and creaking saddlery. But underestimate them at your peril. Their unarmed combat training is second to none and they can call on the formidable powers of the armoured kidotai or 'special police'. These bully-boys leaning on their five-foot staves are, ironically enough, your welcomers to Japan. Grey combat vehicles poke their pug noses round unexpected corners at Narita Airport, and festoons of electrified wire give the place the incongruous feeling of a prison camp or a forward base in a hostile land.

The legions of guards and administrators hold the airport like a citadel against a community of bitter and dispossessed farmers whose land was compulsorily purchased at minimum prices. Narita was built on some of Japan's best agricultural land when Tokyo Bay was there for the asking. The resolute opposition of farmers and students – the control tower was blown up once, and tunnels dug under the runways – probably means that armed guards will be needed for the foreseeable future. But anyway, welcome to Japan, land of calm!

Tourists who know nothing of Japan's tortured twentieth century are correct to be impressed by what one writer calls 'the friendly neighbourhood police state'. While the forces of law and order in the West are hard-pressed to 'regain' the inner cities, the little *Koban* or police box with its carefully-tended shrubs and under-worked inhabitants noting lost dogs or acting as amateur psychiatrists seems a breath of fresh air. Japan appears to have preserved – or re-invented – the social deference due the Law. Moreover, the Japanese genius has been to humanize the law and encourage 'talking through' and repentance rather than draconian retribution. It was not always so, and even today you have only to fall innocently outside the law's benevolence to feel its thunderbolts.

The US occupation and the post-war years have produced a new, democratically-based and legally-free Japan, liberated from its old prejudices and an energetic partner of the West. So runs the myth created by the US and is naturally, therefore, the one it wants to believe. To explode the myth one need only look at legal matters. Japan has never truly understood democratic politics. Law in Japan is made as much as possible an irrelevance to everyday affairs. Less than 15,000 lawyers serve a hundred million people, despite massive efforts during the occupation to increase drastically the size of the bar and public awareness of legal rights. This was rapidly undone when the occupation forces left. The emphasis is on conciliation, contrition, rapport, discussion, on 're-examination of the issues with greater sincerity', on anything short of resort to legal rights. This is much praised in Western newspapers, wearied perhaps by the confrontation of the Anglo-Saxon system. But the litigant in a Japanese civil case against the Government might as well not bother. Equally, a defendant in a criminal case has a 99.8-per-cent chance of losing. In 1986, 63,204 people were tried for criminal offences, with 67 acquitted.

One prisoner remained on death row for 31 years because he did not show 'appropriate penitence'. Small wonder: evidence finally surfaced to prove him innocent. Perhaps the judges had more than a sneaking suspicion of this to keep him there so long. Yet any reasonable judiciary would have re-examined the case. At least public appeals would have been made or the newspapers would have taken up the cause. But not in complacent Japan. ■

John Charles lives in Tokyo where he clings to his English eccentricities.

A way out

Voices of dissent are beginning to be heard, even in the Republican heartland.

Richard Swift pays a visit.

'No pictures!'

The hulk on the top of Attica prison main-gate tower wasn't kidding. He glared down at us threateningly, arms braced against the high wall, weapon plainly visible. Punishment – like crime, it appears – needs to be carried out as much as possible in secret.

Attica is a sleepy, up-state village that holds the largest maximum-security prison in New York State. The massive stone prison with its fantasy-land guard towers undulates across the foothills with walls extending 25 feet underground, just in case. No-one has ever broken out of Attica. It did, however, witness the most brutal prison uprising in US history, back in 1971, when 43 human beings perished – most of them after Governor Nelson Rockefeller ordered a military-style assault. There is a memorial to nine of those who perished – the guards. There is none for the prisoners.

You can find hope in some very odd places, and in the shadow of the walls of Attica is amongst the strangest. Ten minutes down the road in the small city of Batavia, NY, a group of criminal-justice innovators is developing an alternative to the system of mass incarceration symbolized by Attica. They call it simply 'Genesee Justice' because it is located in Genesee County.

A slight, easy-going but highly persuasive Catholic named Dennis Whitmann (top right) runs the victim-offender reconciliation and community-corrections program out of the Genesee sheriff's office. His phone never stops ringing and, as he talks, you realize that Genesee Justice has become a ray of light for those seeking some way out of the gathering gloom of a US trapped by crime panic and vengeance-based incarceration.

Whitmann pauses in reeling off stories of murderous felony and sexual assault for a moment's prayer before tucking into his club sandwich. He has a boundless optimism that is contagious. 'More can be done for the victims of crime... We can do better than just shoving people in jail... We have placed offenders with over 120 different community agencies... In some cases real victim-offender reconciliation is possible.'

Whitmann is an expert at working the system, equally at home with judges, prosecutors, offenders and victims – a consensus-builder in the best sense of the word. For him the link with Attica is very tangible. Many employed at Attica (the New York Department of Corrections is now the biggest employer in the State) live right in Batavia. He relates the story of Paul Lewis, whose father was a guard who had been killed in the Attica uprising. Paul was injured during an attempted hold-up of the gas station in which he worked. When the robbers were caught, Paul intervened with the court to plead that they not be sent to Attica because he felt that no good could ever come from putting people behind those grim grey walls.

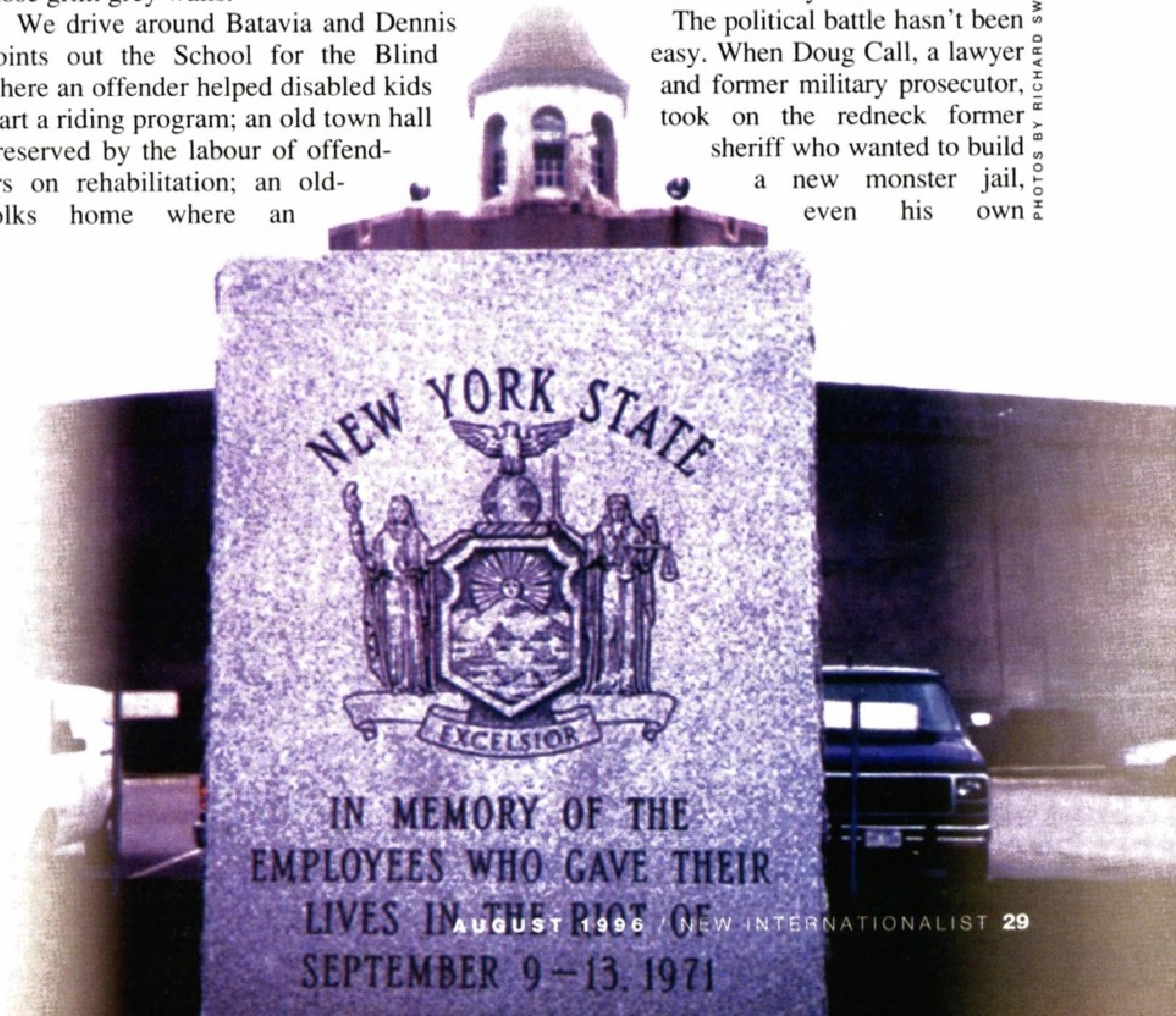
We drive around Batavia and Dennis points out the School for the Blind where an offender helped disabled kids start a riding program; an old town hall preserved by the labour of offenders on rehabilitation; an old-folks home where an offender ran the outreach program; a county wilderness area where an offender, caught diverting electricity from the local utility, has built two magnificent flagstone barbecue ovens.

These are not all minor charges, either. The stories behind numerous felonies trip off his lips: the program brought together the mother of a boy who was shot with the mother of a boy who did the shooting; community meetings where sexual offenders have had to face the music from angry members of the community they betrayed; the case of a sniper and his victim chatting amicably before both appeared on an episode of NBC's Geraldo Show exploring the possibilities of restorative justice.

I meet the present sheriff, craggy-faced Gary Maha (a Clint Eastwood look-alike) who has worked his way up through the ranks, and Glenn R Morton, the thoughtful chief judge of the county. Both support community alternatives to incarceration for many cases. Morton believes that it has application not only to relatively rural jurisdictions like Genesee County but also in the urban communities and neighbourhoods of Brooklyn and the Bronx.

Dennis Whitmann goes even further: 'If we can make restorative justice work here, in this conservative Republican community, people can make it work anywhere.'

The political battle hasn't been easy. When Doug Call, a lawyer and former military prosecutor, took on the redneck former sheriff who wanted to build a new monster jail, even his own



PHOTOS BY RICHARD SWIFT

father 'flipped'. Call is a tall, friendly man with a clarity of purpose and a knack for adapting the restorative-justice message for conservative ears. He paints the incarceration approach in lazy, passive colours ('Three square meals a day and colour TV') and asks: 'Who's really soft on crime?'

Call won his election as Genesee sheriff three times. He ran as a Democrat – 'Yea, I bucked the big R,' – on a program of making the offenders work, making them responsible to their victims, to the community and to themselves, using jail only as a last, reluctant and expensive resort. He believes that the pervasive law-and-order politics that grips America can be beaten. Call has an interesting vision of the possibilities of criminal justice. He regards jail as a lost opportunity for intervening in a troubled life to try and put things on a more even keel. He is quick to juxtapose alternative notions of justice, from Africa to contemporary Germany, where civil and criminal remedies are combined.

You can find unorthodox remedies right down the street in Batavia. Robert Williams (above) is an intense and straight-forward man who was arrested for second-degree murder when he came to the aid of his brother who was being stabbed. If he didn't live in Genesee County it is likely Williams would be doing some very heavy time. But this single father of three sat with me over coffee and doughnuts in his living room and talked of his nightmares about the event and his hopes for the future. He is on 'community diversion' (17 quite rigorous conditions) pending sentencing, which will likely be probation plus community service. For Williams the Batavia victim-offender program has provided what is crucial – people who give a damn: 'Dennis is always getting in touch to see how I'm doing.'

One of the conditions of Robert Williams' diversion is meeting with the mother of the person he killed, if she so desires. Attending to the victim will become the centrepiece of penal politics in the future. Either the victim's pain at the crime, and then at being ignored – or further abused – in the criminal-justice process, will be used by cynical politicians and prosecutors as a vengeful tool for ratcheting up sentences, or the victim will be given standing and dignity in the process. This could mean anything from compensation and counselling to actual meetings with the offender to discuss the crime. Simply being kept in touch with the proceedings would be a positive development. Healing is the priority, rather than vengeance.

Crimes are committed against individuals, not against the state. By tradition this is also how justice has been sought. Restorative justice – restoring the rights and dignity of the victim – has its roots in a myriad of indigenous traditions, from the South Pacific to native America. Only Roman and later British law put the integrity of the system before the interests of the victim. The stamp of state justice possesses a blunt uniformity and a severity that has little to do with the particularities of the individual crime, the circumstances of the wrong-doer or the needs of the victim.

These days the retributive model of justice is beginning to crack under the weight of its own consequences. Prisons are increasingly over-crowded and violent. In Brazil overcrowding has forced a mass amnesty for less serious offenders. Costs are sky-rocketing. Crime rates are either unaffected or worsened. Recidivism is the norm.

Through the cracks alternatives are beginning to appear. Genesee justice is one. The new juvenile-justice system in Aoetearoa/New Zealand is another. Zimbabwe's large community-service program for offenders provides a model for the Third World. Some countries like Finland have managed to resist the pressure to put more and more offenders behind bars. Norway has set up an alternative mechanism to the criminal courts to settle disputes. Mostly, alternatives are small and local – geared to the needs of particular communities. They all share an underlying sensibility – that where it is necessary to judge our fellow human being we should take care to judge modestly.

Replacing a system of retribution with one of restorative justice is, however, an uphill battle. Many have a stake in the present system. Politicians enjoy an easy ride by provoking crime fear and talking tough about punishment. Resources to run community corrections and deal sensitively with the needs of victims are hard to come by. It is possible to draw on indigenous traditions and other experiences in creating an alternative. But mostly it must be cut from whole cloth, by simply finding out what works and what doesn't.

In Genesee County they like to quote the Spanish poet Antonio Machado: 'Traveller, there is no road; one makes the road by walking'. ■

ACTION DIRECTORY

GROUPS

Prison Reform International, 169 Clapham Road, London SW9 OPU, UK. Tel: (0171) 582 6500. Fax: (0171) 735 4666 E-Mail: pri@gn.apc.org An international campaigning organization on prison conditions and prisoners' rights. PRI publishes a monthly newsletter, various reports and documents and works with prison activists around the world.

Prison Reform Trust, 15 Northburgh St, London, EC1V OAH. Tel: (0170)251 5070 concentrates on prison issues in Britain and publishes a very readable quarterly magazine (year sub £15) and **Penal Affairs Consortium**, 169 Clapham Road, London, SW9 OPU Tel: (0171) 582 6500 produces an excellent series of reports on the British criminal-justice system.

Restorative Justice Network, PO Box 3-135, Christchurch, Aotearoa/NZ Tel: 64 (3) 328 8207 and Fax: 328 8800, and **Movement for Alternatives to Prison** 2/23 Sainsbury Ave, Auckland 3 Aotearoa/NZ Tel: (9) 846 0226 are Aotearoa/New Zealand's two main campaigning groups around prisons which have played a big role in shaping an alternative juvenile justice system.

International Community Corrections Association, PO Box 1987, La Crosse, WI, USA Tel: (608) 785 5335, Fax: 784 5335. Led by national secretary Peter Kinziger the ICCA actively promotes alternatives to the population explosion in US prisons.

The Aboriginal Deaths In Custody Watch Committee, PO Box 65, Broadway, NSW 2007, Australia Tel: (02) 264 9895 Fax: (02) 264 9916. Formed in June 1987 to protest about the large number of aboriginal deaths in custody. Plays an effective watchdog role.

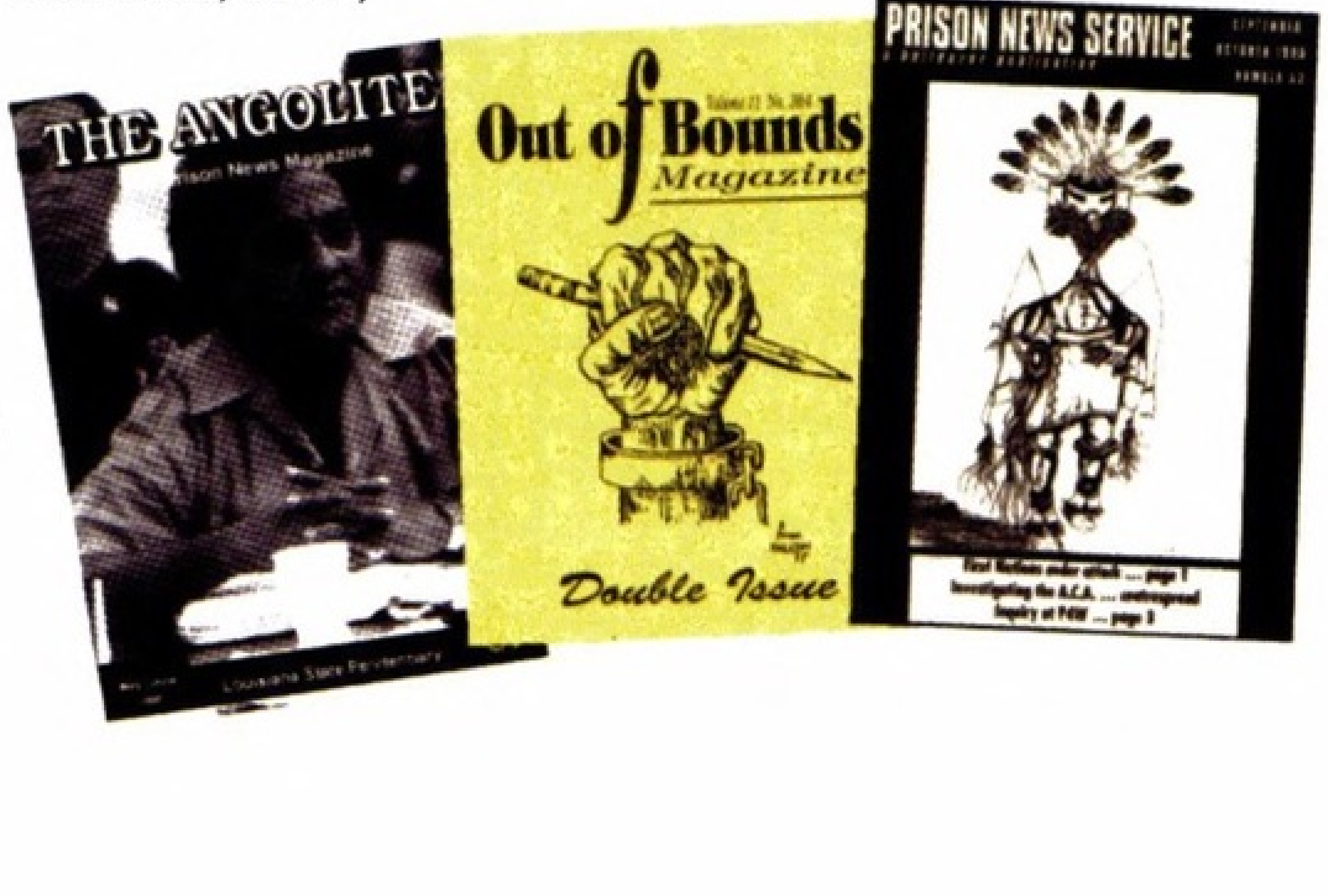
THE PRISON PRESS

Prison News Service is the best source of information about the prison movement in North America. While not published from prison, PNS is mostly written by prisoners and published by prison-rights activists. Subscriptions are $10 or more. Write to: Prison News Service, PO Box 5052, Stn A, Toronto, Ont. Canada M5W 1W4

The Angolite (Louisiana State Penitentiary, Angola, LA 70712 USA) is a paper produced by inmates of Angola Prison in Louisiana. It is widely considered the best prison journalism in the US, with hard-hitting, thoughtful writing. Subs: $18 a year (US), $24(Canada) $40 (foreign).

Out of Bounds (Box 4000, Station A, Victoria, BC N5W 1W4) is an up-and-coming inmate magazine produced at William Head Institution in British Columbia. Subs are $10.

• **Special thanks to Craig Calder for invaluable editorial and research assistance.**



The **NI** Interview

Subodh Bikash Chakma

Nikki van der Gaag meets **Subodh Bikash Chakma**, a leading campaigner for the rights of the Jumma, the indigenous peoples who live in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh.

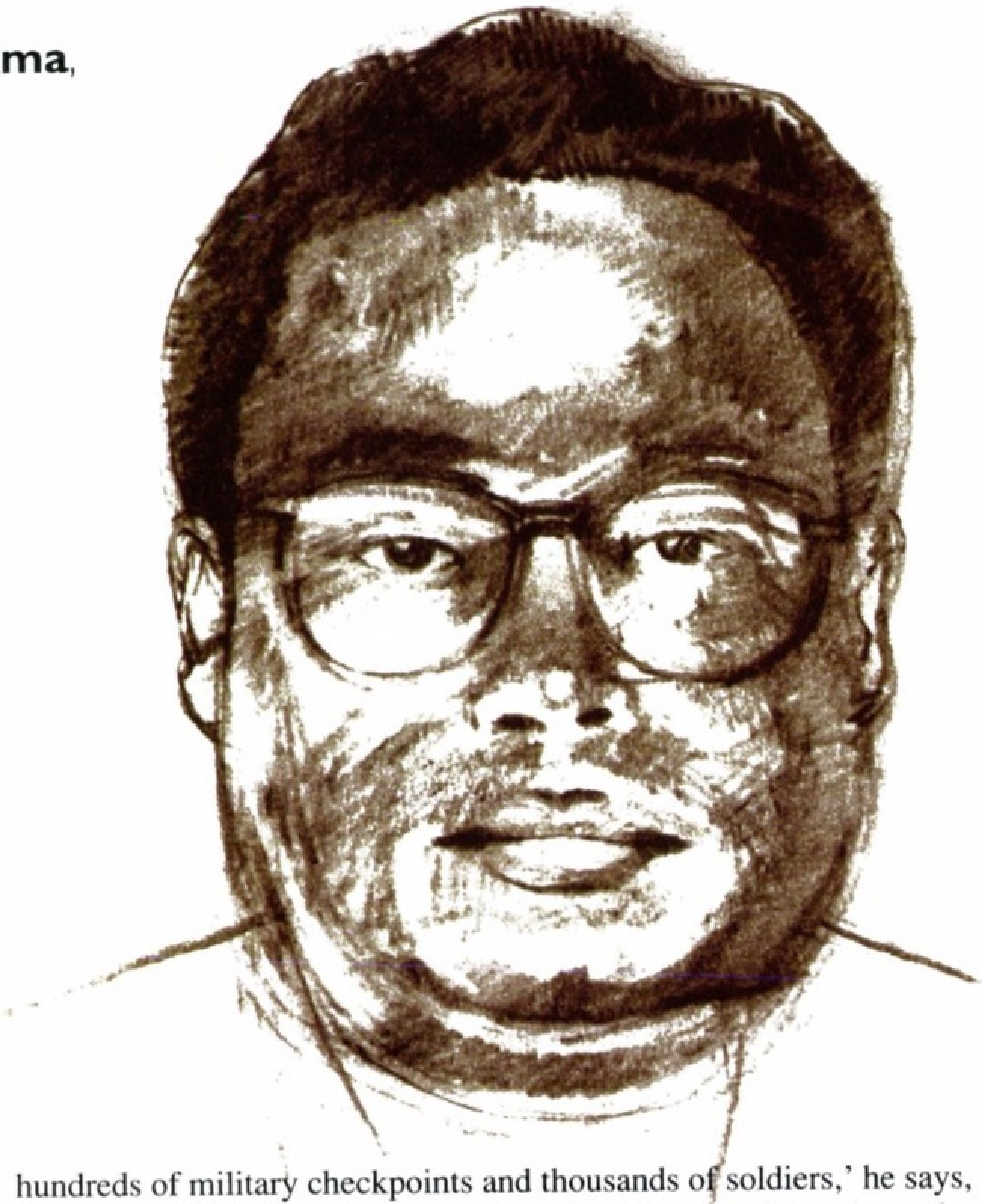


ILLUSTRATION BY ALAN HUGHES

'I WAS in grade three when my home was submerged under the waters of the Kaptai Dam.' Subodh Bikash Chakma speaks quickly and quietly; his hands move constantly, circling as if to capture the urgency of his words.

That was the beginning of my anger,' he recalls. 'And, I suppose, of my activism.' The Bangladesh Government began the Kaptai project in 1962. The dam flooded a third of the Jumma peoples' territory, more than 150,000 acres. Since then, says Subodh, the Jumma have suffered a systematic destruction of their land, their livelihood and their lives.

'Four years later, I attended a Buddhist fair where a police inspector molested the sister of a classmate. I lost my temper and I beat him up. I shouldn't have.' At this point Subodh's round face breaks into a wicked grin. 'He was not as strong as I was. In fact, he was quite weak. Anyway, after that I had to run away...'

Today Subodh is trying to call world attention to the rights of the Jumma, who live in the isolated and rugged Chittagong Hill Tracts in Northeast Bangladesh. Thirteen different indigenous tribes live in the area, each with their own language and culture. They are mostly Buddhist. The Bangladesh Government has long felt uneasy about the region and claims that the Jumma are secessionist.

Subodh, like many others, was forced into exile. He now lives in Canada, and only last year was joined by his wife and three sons. But he is no less passionate about his people's cause.

'In 1972, when Bangladesh became independent, many people from our area were killed. I travelled all around holding meetings and campaigning. In 1975 the student organisation I was working for was banned, as was the Jumma peoples' political organization, the Jana Samhati Samiti (JSS).

> ***Others live in dignity. Why can my people not have the same rights?***

'Then my wife was beaten up when our second son was only three months old. Everywhere I met people who had been traumatized by rape, by beatings, by the horrors they had witnessed. All these things made me stronger and more motivated to campaign for the rights of my people.'

The Jumma are determined to preserve their culture and their religion. 'We are fighting for regional autonomy within the framework of the constitution,' Subodh stresses. He stares at me sternly over the black rims of his glasses. 'We are not separatists.'

The Bangladesh Government is not convinced. It sees the Jumma as different and therefore suspect and wants to assert its control over the water, timber, oil and land of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. So it is using all means possible to supress local resistance, including trying to swamp the indigenous population with new settlers. More than 400,000 Bengalis have been moved into the area in recent years. Each family that comes is promised two-and-a-half acres of land, a bullock, money and food aid - though this is largely unfulfilled.

There is also a huge military presence in the region - nearly a third of the entire national army, according to Subodh. 'There are hundreds of military checkpoints and thousands of soldiers,' he says, moving his hands in a wide sweep to make his point. 'They burned the District office which held all the property records of our people. Then they forced us off the fertile valley bottom to make room for the settlers and drove us into the inferior land in the hills. We could do nothing.'

Subodh speaks in a level voice, only his hands betray his feeling. 'We have to get permission for everything; to hold a funeral or a marriage, to travel, even to buy food. They are afraid we are supplying the guerrillas so they make sure we have only just enough for ourselves. We are not even allowed to wear green because this is what Shanti Bahini (the military wing of the JSS) wear.'

In December 1990 Subodh and other activists formed the Chittagong Hill Tracts Hill People's Council. The group is attempting to negotiate and lobby politically as well as get information out to the public, both within Bangladesh and internationally.

'There is nothing in the national press,' says Subodh. 'So few Bengalis know what is going on in their own country.'

Bangladesh depends on foreign aid for 80 per cent of its development programmes. Subodh charges that much of this facilitates the presence of the troops who occupy the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

'The question I have for Western donor nations is this,' says Subodh. 'How can you guarantee the money you give in good conscience is not being used to repress my people?' At this point he bangs the table with his fist and his voice grows louder. 'The suffering of my people has gone too far. We are thirsty for peace. We want to live as human beings, in dignity. Others live in dignity. Why can my people not have the same rights?'

For more information contact the Chittagong Hill Tracts Campaign, PO Box 86, Klong Chan PO, Bangkok, 10240 Thailand. Tel/Fax: 66 2 945 8233. Or Survival International, 11-15 Emerald Street, London WC1N 3QL, UK. Tel: 44 171 242 1441 Fax: 44 171242 1771.

Reviews

EDUARDO NIEBLA & ADEL SALAMEH | Mediterraneo

music

Mediterraneo

by **Eduardo Niebla** and **Adel Salameh**
(Riverboat TUG CD1012)

There's a perception – persistent but incorrect – that music, like the nation-state, has its own boundaries. You have Spanish music, Arabian music, and so on – each distinct in its own ways and virtues. It's with some regard to this insularity of thought that Eduardo Niebla and Adel Salameh's collaboration enters the world. A partnership of original work from Spanish guitarist Niebla and Palestinian *oud* player Salameh, it's a gleeful, witty record, which at once explores the continuities and discontinuities in their musical traditions.

There is much to link Spanish and Arabian music. The *oud*, a stringed instrument which is the precursor of both guitar and lute, was introduced to Europe, via Moorish Spain in the eleventh century. The cadences of Arabian music can still be heard today in Spanish flamenco. This is not, however, a flamenco record; neither is it a rather dry exposition on two entwined traditions. It is rather an exploration of territory, looking not only towards Spain and Palestine for its roots, but also to a place where their music, in all its modern aspects, can sit. The musicians behind **Mediterraneo** – guitars, *oud* and Indian tabla and Egyptian *riq* percussion – are well situated to do this. Salameh, from Nablus, is an accomplished soloist who has worked with a wide variety of musicians. So too Niebla. Born in Tangiers of Andalusian parents, his musical career began in childhood and was later to embrace work in jazz, orchestral arrangements and pop sessions: credits include work with Belinda Carlisle and George Michael.

So how do these strands in **Mediterraneo** fit together? Wonderfully well. From the opening track, which provides the album with its title, a brisk pace is established. The Spanish aspect seems to dominate at first but it becomes quickly apparent that the *oud* operates in a more subtle way, insinuating itself into every fibre of the musical weave. The two percussionists anchor this piece, as indeed they do for the album's three other instrumentals, but the exuberance and attitude belongs at all times to Niebla and Salameh. Such brightness gives way to other moods, 'Andalusia' and 'Jardines del Corazón', for example, are more contemplative, slower, but no less stately and statuesque for that. Overall, this is an album of enormous intricacies: the musical lines are of a delicate filigree which teases out patterns and associations as they move along. And as a listening experience, it is a rewarding one. It's a historical fact that Arabian and Spanish music share certain similarities but it's intriguing to hear the two side by side, in a collaborative album that has little of the hybrid about it.

Politics ☆☆☆
Entertainment☆☆☆☆

LG

books

Surviving Indonesia's Gulag

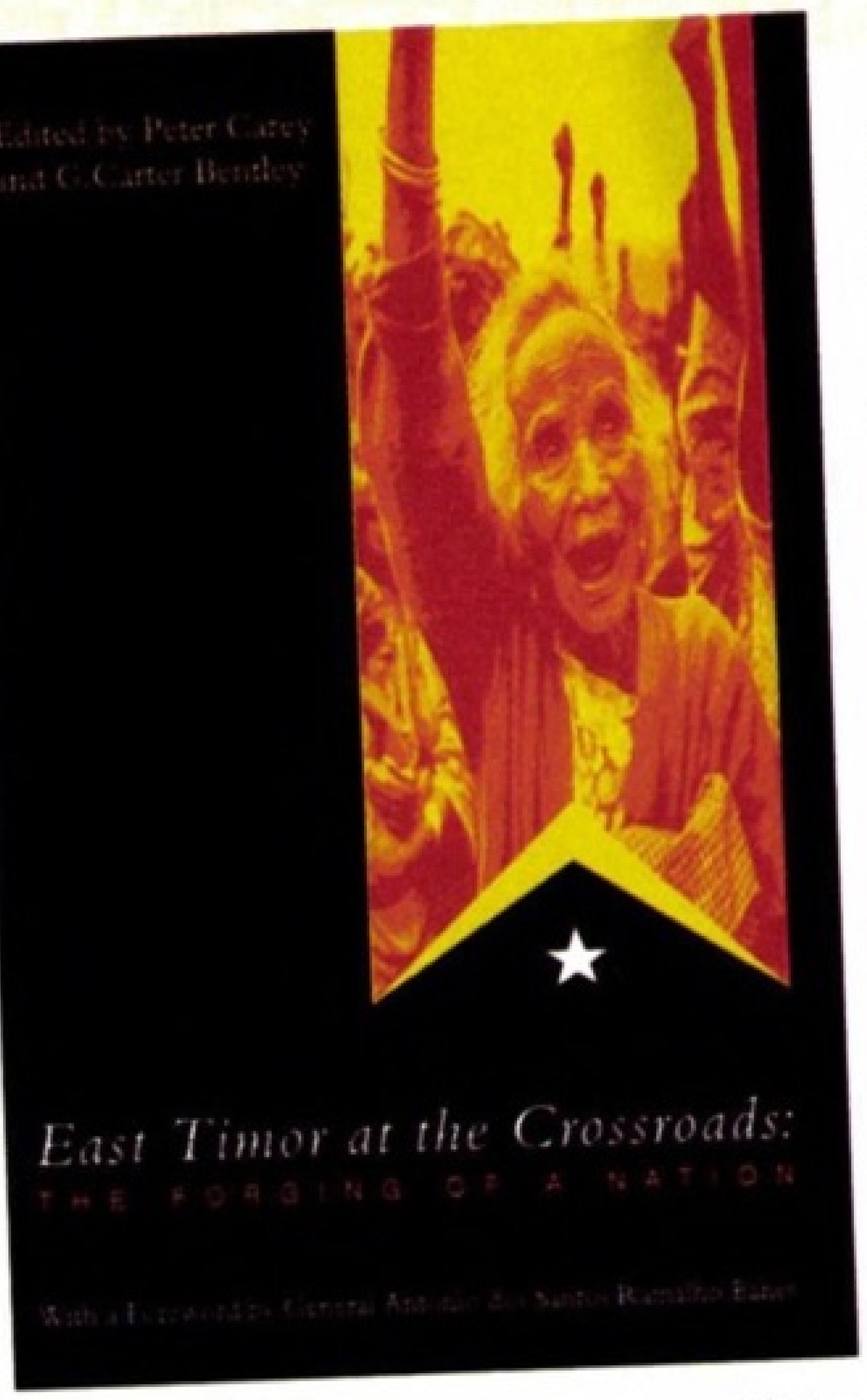
by **Carmel Budiardjo**
(Cassell ISBN 0-304-33562-2)

East Timor at the Crossroads

ed. **Peter Carey** and
G Carter Bentley
(Cassell ISBN 0-304-33265-8)

Generations of Resistance

by **Steve Cox** and **Peter Carey**
(Cassell ISBN 0-304 33252)



Last year saw both the thirtieth anniversary of the emergence of Indonesian dictator President Suharto and the twentieth anniversary of his invasion of East Timor. The mini-surge of publishing that these dates have prompted, serves as a reminder of just how long the Suharto regime has been around – and how extensive has been its repression of East Timor, Irian Jaya and of dissidents in Indonesia itself.

Surviving Indonesia's Gulag tackles this last category. Carmel Budiardjo and her husband, both former government officials, were arrested in 1968 over links with the suppressed Indonesian Communist Party, the PKI. She was to spend three years in detention without trial. Both she and her husband were category 'B' political prisoners – they were believed to be communist activists involved in the alleged 1965 coup attempt, but there was insufficient evidence to put them on trial. Carmel's release was secured in 1971 through the efforts of family, friends and Amnesty International, using her (renounced) British nationality. By the time her husband walked free, in 1978, he had spent a total of 12 years in detention without trial.

Budiardjo's account of her initial period of detention in 1968 intercuts rather awkwardly with flashbacks to the events of 1965 and Suharto's rise to power. However, once she starts telling of her longer stay in Bukit Duri prison, the narrative becomes more engaging and her fellow-prisoners come across as real people, not just political stereotypes.

After her release, Carmel set up the London-based Indonesian human-rights group, TAPOL. Her book provides a timely reminder of the roots of a regime that has killed or imprisoned hundreds of thousands as part of its continuing 'final solution'.

Politics ☆☆☆☆
Entertainment☆☆

By comparison, **East Timor at the Crossroads** is startlingly academic. This collection of papers from two conferences on East Timor held in 1990-91, is strictly for the serious student. The historical background to the East Timor situation, the illegality of the Timor Gap oil exploration treaty between Australia and Indonesia, and the role of the Catholic Church as well as that of the former colonial power, Portugal, are all carefully examined. Only with the testimonies of a former Fretilin commander and a student activist does the book seem about to throw off its studious mantle and appeal to a wider audience. But it cannot escape its conference origins and despite referring frequently to the international community's role in East Timor, it never actually dissects it. But it's an informative and at times enlightening collection, nonetheless.

Politics ☆☆☆☆
Entertainment☆☆

Publisher Cassell may have been trying to offset the dryness of the last book by at the same time publishing **Generations of Resistance**, based on the photojournalism of Steve Cox. For the general reader it offers a more concise explanation of the history and the present situation, along with striking – if at times gruesome – photographs of the horrific Dili massacre of 1991. What none of the above books does is to pull together all the strands of the Suharto regime's repression during the past 30 years. To achieve that task a depressingly large tome would be required.

Politics ☆☆
Entertainment☆☆☆

RB

video

Beyond Beijing

by **Shirini Heerah** and **Enrique Berrios**

Like most women in the world, I wasn't able to go to the Women's Conference in Beijing last year. The media coverage at the time had focused on the difficulties of holding such a conference in China, and I never really felt that I knew what had actually gone on there or how it related to my own life.

Beyond Beijing fills the gap and also communicates the incredible buzz felt by the 30,000 women attending. 'This is fantastic!' says one woman, with tears in her eyes. 'It is something I will remember for the rest of my life.' The energy and sheer variety of the event and its participants combine to create a joyous kaleidoscope.

There are sober notes too. Clips of workshops on prostitution, a heated discussion with World Bank officials on the effects of structural adjustment on women; a mother from Azerbaijan showing a photo of her dead daughter; women in black in a powerful silent protest against genocide, against the events in Rwanda and Bosnia, against all violations of women's rights. In a scene near the end of the video, a night-time procession of coloured paper lanterns wends its way through an arch. 'We will never forget the women who are now in prison because we are attending this conference; the activists in China whose voices have been silenced,' say the women with the lanterns.

Woven throughout is the 'ribbon' of the Women Weaving the World Together project. Pieces of cloth made by women from every country in every colour are bonded together to make a ribbon many kilometres long which is walked around the conference centre and even taken to China's Great Wall.

The outcome of all this? 'We now have the strongest international document on women's equality ever!' says one jubilant interviewee dancing in the rain at the end. 'And we must make sure that women everywhere ensure that their governments live up to what we made them promise here. Beijing is more than words.' The material accompanying the video gives ideas for making this a reality. And having watched it, I felt like doing my own little dance.

Politics ☆☆☆

Entertainment☆☆☆☆ NvdG

Beyond Beijing *is available from Shirini Heerah, 16b Saltoun Road, London SW2 1EP, England.*
Tel/Fax: (44) 171 737 6024

STAR RATING

Excellent	☆☆☆☆☆
Very good	☆☆☆☆
Good	☆☆☆
Fair	☆☆
Poor	☆

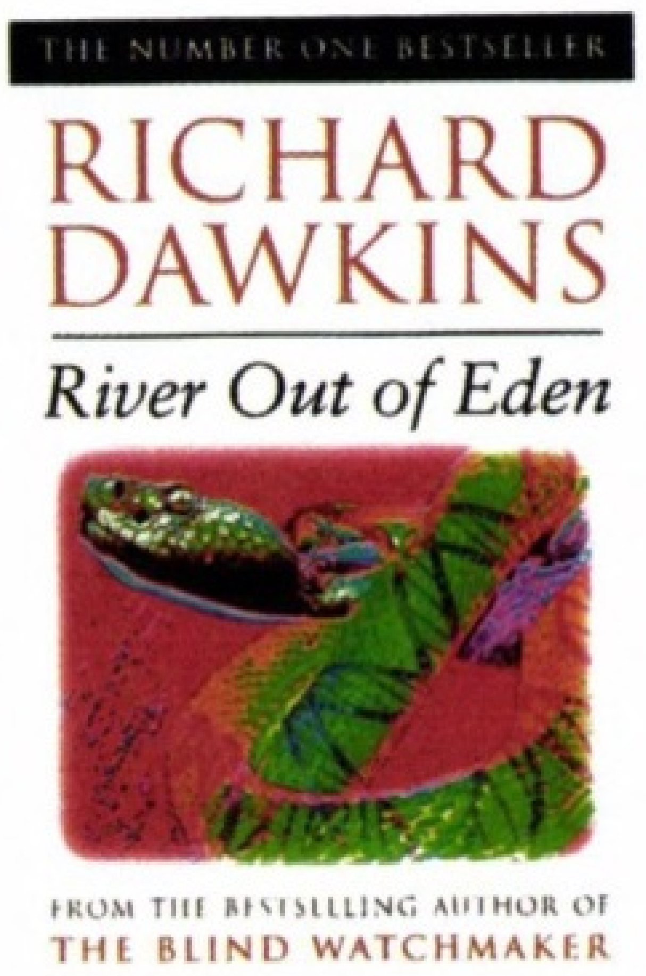
Reviews by **Louise Gray, Roger Bingham, Nikki van der Gaag**
Reviews editor: **Vanessa Baird**

THE CLASSIC

River Out of Eden

...being the book that keeps the rational debate alive and kicking against a wave of religious dogma.

SCIENCE and religion have clashed frequently throughout history, most often with religion as the entrenched political power and with decidedly detrimental effects on the health of the scientist – as Galileo could confirm. Many would argue that religion's greatest crisis in the battle with scientific rationalism came when Charles Darwin developed his theory of natural selection, striking at the heart of the Christian creation myth. Despite desperate attempts by Christian thinkers to construct an alternative theory encompassing the creation and a neutered version of Darwinism – most famously the ludicrous logic knots of Philip Gosse's *Omphalos* – dogmatic Christianity suffered a blow from which it has never really recovered. In a sense, all scientific and rationalist thought in our century has been conducted amid the ripples still spreading from Darwin's idea. It is 20 years since Richard Dawkins, the most persuasive of modern Darwinians, published his groundbreaking study of natural selection, *The Selfish Gene*. But despite the force of Darwin's idea – as Dawkins says, 'never were so many facts explained by so few assumptions' – the same arguments in favour of creationism come round again and again. In **River Out of Eden**, Dawkins tackles these objections head on and his writing sparkles with wit and apt examples. Dawkins' 'river' of his title is a river of DNA, flowing and branching down through geological time and in its defence he is tenacity itself. Faced with the 'Argument from Design' – the imbuing with a divinely inspired purposefulness the development by natural selection of wings or eyes – he constructs an essay involving the dance of honey bees and the sex-ratio of elephant seals to prove the irrational grounding of the original premise.



THE NUMBER ONE BESTSELLER
RICHARD DAWKINS
River Out of Eden
FROM THE BESTSELLING AUTHOR OF
THE BLIND WATCHMAKER

Dawkins' favourite argument – evident from the relish with which he demolishes it – is what he has dubbed the 'Argument from Personal Incredulity'. It goes as follows: 'This creature/organ/behaviour is so perfect/intricate/unlikely that I cannot believe that there has been sufficient geological time for the necessary evolutionary steps to have occurred.' A variant on this is the assertion that an organ or behaviour pattern needs to be perfect in order to be of any use, therefore previous developmental stages, being of dubious utility, could not occur. This can be summed up as the 'What use is half an eye?' question. Dawkins has splendid fun with the misapprehensions underpinning this position, beginning with the arrogance of the assumption that we can apply human judgement and standards to the natural world. Our notions of utility or perfection have no universal validity; mimicry or camouflage need to meet criteria common to prey and hunter, not human perception. The related 'half eye' question is given short shrift: 'Half an eye is just one per cent better than 49 per cent of an eye, which is already better than 48 per cent and the difference is significant.' As to time, Dawkins produces evidence showing that, not only has this been ample to develop the present complexity of the eye, there has been enough for it to have evolved from scratch 1,500 times in succession! Thus, 'the time needed... far from stretching credulity with its vastness, turns out to be too short for geologists to measure! It is a geological blink.'

There is a view that the modern tendency to construct personality cults around scientists – as with the three famous Steves: Jones, Gould and Hawking – is an unhealthy manifestation of the public's need to personalize complex questions. There is much truth in this and Dawkins may be guilty of fostering this attitude in his combative enthusiasm to communicate. Certainly he is no paragon of disinterested inquiry; he is a partisan for the principle of Darwinian selection and can be scathing with those who fail to see the blinding logic of his argument. 'Wrong, utterly wrong!' and 'The fallacy is glaring!' are just a couple of his magisterial put-downs.

River Out of Eden is not Dawkins' most original or thorough book but it is an excellent starting point for the general reader. No special scientific knowledge is assumed and the basis of Darwinian selection is simply and elegantly laid before the reader. Those beguiled by the logic and beauty of the process will acquire from this book a solid base from which to tackle Dawkins' more closely-argued works, such as *The Blind Watchmaker*, or his most recent volume, *Climbing Mount Improbable* (Viking 1996). At a time when fundamentalism is resurgent throughout the world and the forces of religious intolerance from Arkansas to Algeria are trying to close down the channels of debate and education, Richard Dawkins is an invaluable ally in the struggle for tolerance and rationalism. ■

Peter Whittaker

River out of Eden by **Richard Dawkins** is published by Weidenfield & Nicholson, London 1995.

Curiosities

QUESTIONS THAT HAVE ALWAYS INTRIGUED YOU ABOUT THE WORLD WILL APPEAR IN THIS, YOUR SECTION, AND BE ANSWERED BY OTHER READERS. PLEASE ADDRESS YOUR ANSWERS AND QUESTIONS TO 'CURIOSITIES'.

Does giving blood benefit the donor?

● Since the Blood Transfusion Service goes to great lengths to ensure that it takes only blood from healthy donors, you get what amounts to a free health check. Some people even see a blood donation certificate as conferring 'bed cred' upon the holder! But, of course, the best reasons for donating blood is that it saves lives.

Mike Kearney
Lampeter, Wales

● There is no benefit unless you have a condition called haemochromatosis whereby you store too much iron and get ill as a consequence. Blood taken for this therapeutic purpose is not used to treat others.

People used to benefit from being bled if they suffered from hypertensive heart failure. This was common 200 years ago but is now extremely rare and treated in other, more effective ways.

Dr James Barrett
London, England

How will the European Monetary Union affect the countries of the South?

● It is unlikely to have a massive impact. The EMU is a stage in a gradual shift to a united Europe, not an abrupt change. The currencies of Europe are already 'strong' and so the EMU is likely simply to confirm the post-war trend towards the concentration of investment in Europe, North America and Japan. And anyway, the European Union already has a long-standing policy towards the developing world from the Yaoundé convention of 1963 to the latest Lomé convention due to expire in the year 2000.

There is some talk of using the European currency as a stabilizing system for developing world currencies – but this is not a new idea and previous efforts have not been very successful. The EMU may strengthen the relatively politically neutral Lomé aid and trade convention above the more self-interested aid of EU member countries, but there is also evidence that Lomé IV has come under the powerful influence of the neo-liberal agenda in its criteria for aid allocation.

The best literature on this subject is probably the series *EEC and the developing world* edited by Chris Stevens (Hodder and Stoughton).

Richard Moncrieff
Brighton, England.

AWAITING YOUR ANSWERS

Is the inter-tribal sign language of the Native North Americans completely extinct? Have there been any other cultures – apart from modern Western societies – that have developed a sign language?

Ralph Scrimshire
Woodbridge, England

Where does the tradition of dressing girls in pink and boys in blue come from? Is it a purely Western invention? How do other cultures differentiate between the sexes of their babies?

Karen Wrigglesworth
Wanganui, Aotearoa/New Zealand

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS OR ANSWERS PLEASE SEND THEM TO **CURIOSITIES, NEW INTERNATIONALIST, 55 RECTORY ROAD, OXFORD OX4 1BW, UK,** OR TO YOUR LOCAL NI OFFICE (SEE INSIDE FRONT COVER FOR ADDRESSES).

THE VIEWS EXPRESSED IN THIS SECTION ARE NOT NECESSARILY THOSE OF **NI**.

The **NI** Crossword

No. 2 by Axe

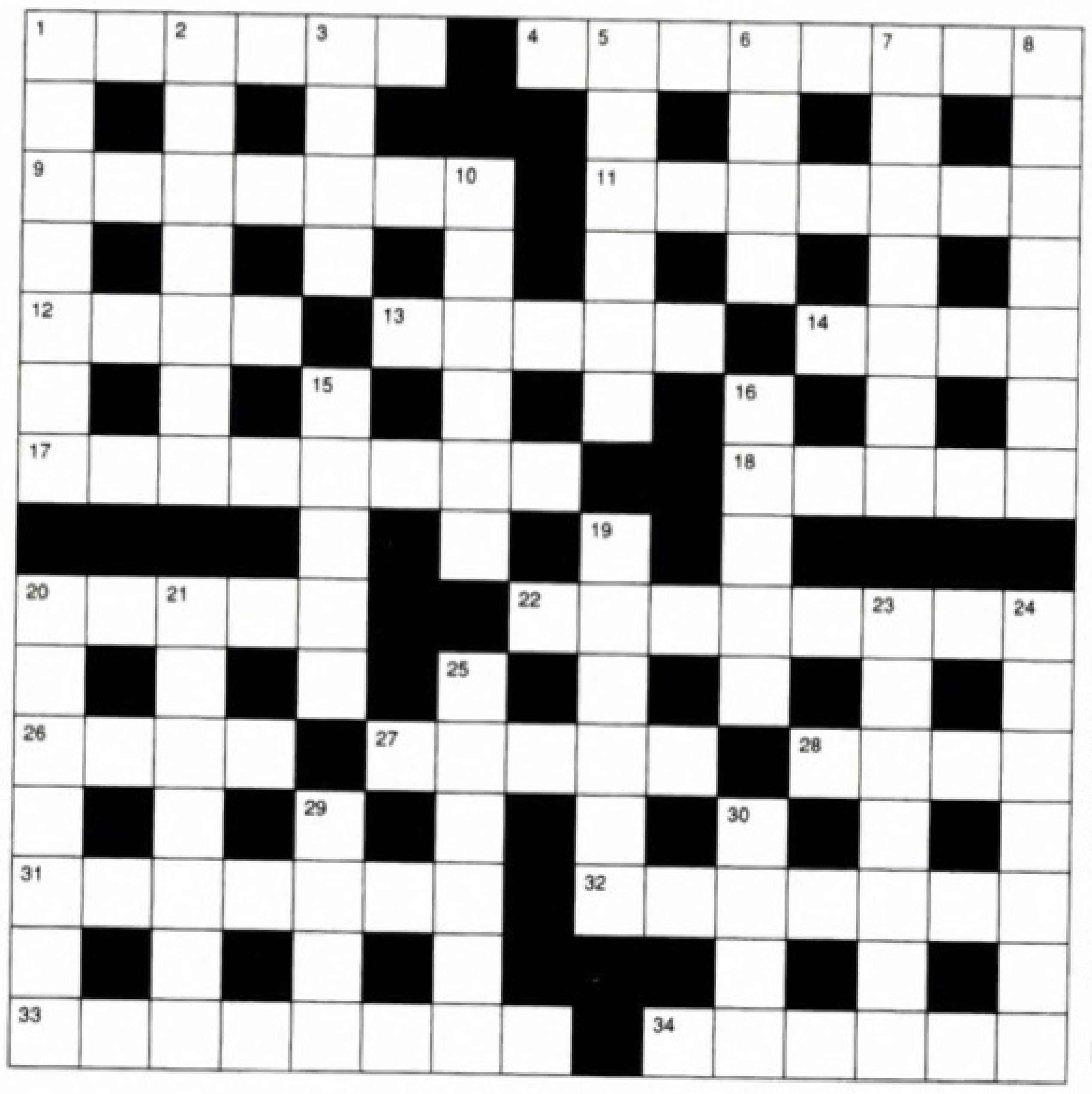
CRYPTIC

Across

1 Swift to pursue article on mountain dweller (6)
4 Melancholy flower coming from 33... (4,4)
9 ...also losing love in area of Kazakhstan's part of 33 (4,3)
11 The last character one sees concerning the first Jew in Palestine (7)
12 The active male criterion in every angry situation (4)
13 Nixon's man's informal address has nothing on back rents (5)
14 Jacob's brother is heard when starting off see-saw (4)
17 1 across part of 33 where CIA mixed up in attic mystery (8)
18 That the Himalayan beast is tail-less is arguably due to Mao's marshal (3,2)
20 See 16
22 Controversial sermon I'm about to kick-off with - but not this term (8)
26 A wee cup of Soviet hype? (4)
27 Old American stays when the old Asian kicks out the French (5)
28 Egyptian god meandering through Oxford? (4)
31 Ran around a barrier, turning fast (7)
32 The first two faxes - Scottish and Israeli - greet the end of Nazism-totalitarianism (7)
33 Suspiciously take Natal tribal leader away to the source of 4 (4,4)
34 Smoothed over by the golfer when on the fairway? (6)

Down

1 He breaks down those who break down! (7)
2 Police search for a trawler (7)
3 Resort, in a roundabout way, to the English in church (4)
5 Alfalfa, is, according to the Germans, to be found at the part of 33 (6)
6 River island where the alien takes in US naval affirmative (4)
7 I find various clues about one who succeeds Ceausescu (7)
8 Without Trudeau, to the French, it loses thrust (7)
10 It carries for 1 across from a moving mountain above California... (6)
15 ...to a West African city - a curve going back to upstate California (5)
16,20 ac Australia's common name given to single-film block for UV rays (5,5)
19 A very strong underlying edge about this dish (6)
20 Thinking is not central to solving this clue! (7)
21 Hay mask adapted for veil (7)
23 Aim to lose 34's implement not right (7)
24 Continued to ponder over scarlet wrap (7)
25 North Carolina's turn-about in the year re the gun (6)
29 Correct over tide (4)
30 The stinking rats that led the Russians for many years? (4)



QUICK

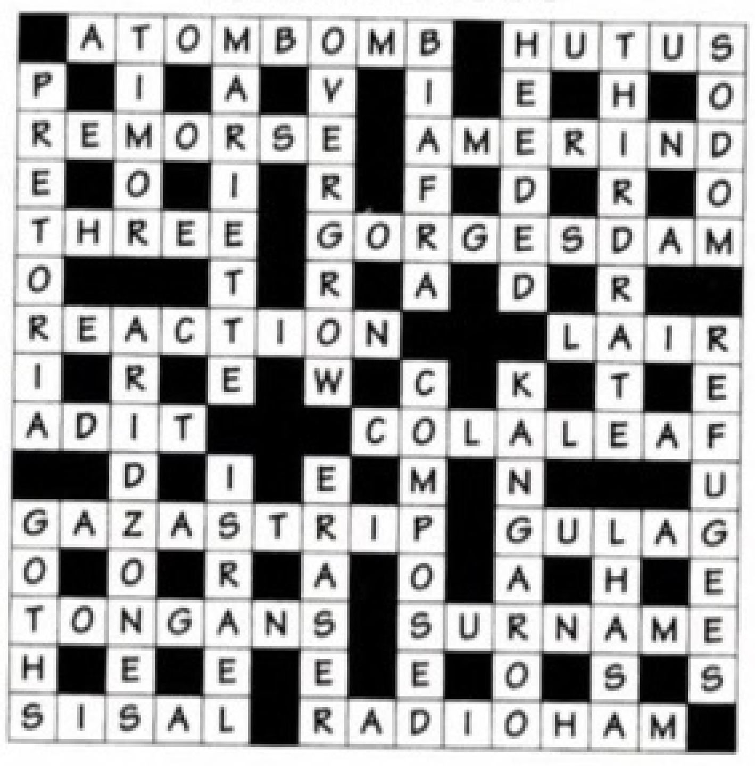
Across

1 Inhabitant of, or relating to, South American uplands (6)
4 Section of a great river with its source in the Ethiopian highlands (4,4)
9 Lake fed mainly by the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers (4,3)
11 Member of movement to develop a Jewish homeland centred on Jerusalem (7)
12 Active, male, Confucian principle of life (4)
13 First name of Nixon's Vice-President, 1969-73 (5)
14 Son of Isaac and brother of Jacob (4)
17 Straddling the borders of Peru and Bolivia, the largest lake in South America (8)
18 He co-organized the Long March, 1934-36, with Mao Zedong (3,2)
20 See 16
22 A wrong or unsuitable name (8)
26 *Telegrafnoye Agentstvo Sovyetskovo Soyuza?* (4)
27 Pre-conquest inhabitant of Central America (5)
28 The Thames at Oxford (4)
31 The ninth month of the Muslim calendar (7)
32 Authoritarianism which spread across Europe between the World Wars (7)
33 Source of the Nile – other than Lake Victoria (4,4)
34 Pressed for wear (6)

Down

1 One skilled in evaluating the constituents and structure of something (7)
2 Extensive, painstaking police search (7)
3 Angular or round section often found in the eastern part of a church (4)
5 The German name for a Swiss lake and resort (6)
6 Islet found in a river (especially in England) (4)
7 President of Romania since 1990 (7)
8 Force out (7)
10 Mountain beast of burden (6)
15 The capital of the former Gold Coast (5)
16, 20ac Stratospheric band which protects Earth against solar radiation (5,5)
19 Savoury dish of Asian origin (6)
20 At, or to, the side (7)
21 Facial covering worn by Muslim women in public (7)
23 Vocation, or a special task (7)
24 Took up again (7)
25 Gun fired by old warship (6)
29 Revise (4)
30 Word derived from Caesar, first used by a European emperor in 1547 (4)

LAST MONTH'S SOLUTION



	A	T	O	M	B	O	M	B		H	U	T	U	S
P		I		A		V		I		E		H		O
R	E	M	O	R	S	E		A	M	E	R	I	N	D
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S	I	S	A	L		R	A	D	I	O	H	A	M	

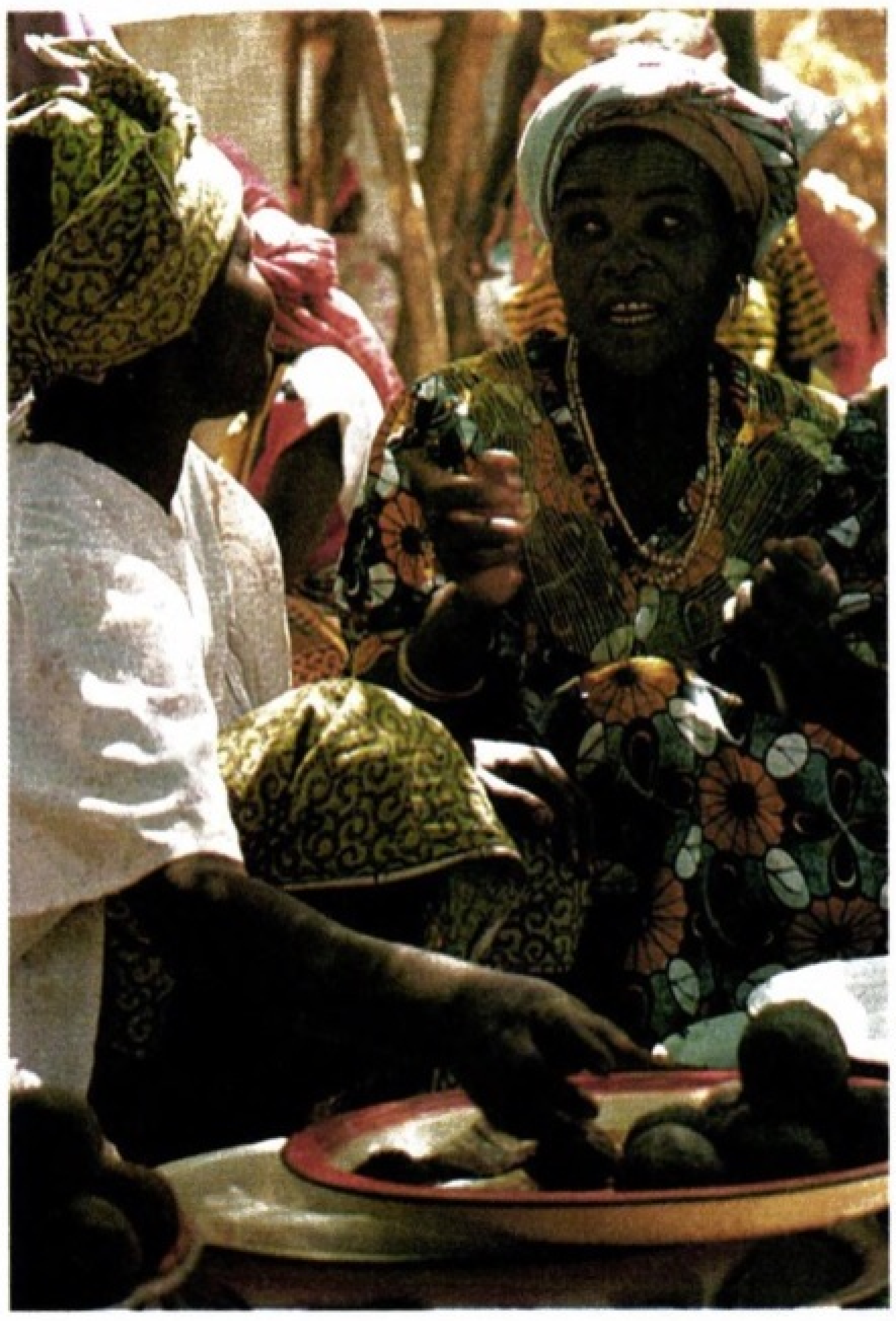
News from next door

Going local really is the answer to a world gone global, argues **Helena Norberg-Hodge**.

AROUND the world recognition of the destructive effects of economic globalization is growing. From soaring unemployment and an erosion of democracy to environmental and social breakdown, the disastrous impact of increased trade and transport is becoming obvious. However, conviction that the solutions lie with *localizing* economic activity is far less widespread. Many people seem to find it difficult even to imagine a shift towards a more local economy. 'Time has moved on,' one hears. 'We live in a globalized world.'

On the surface, this is a perfectly reasonable point of view. How, after all, can we expect to tackle today's global crises except at a global level? But it's not that simple. In particular, I think we need to distinguish between efforts to *counter* further globalization and efforts that can bring real *solutions*. Undoubtedly, efforts to rein in the runaway global economy need to be *global* – linking social and environmental movements from North and South to pressure governments into renegotiating the trade treaties. But this would not in itself restore health to economies and communities: long-term solutions require a range of small, local initiatives that are as diverse as the cultures and environments in which they take place. When seen as going hand-in-hand with policy shifts away from globalization, these small-scale efforts would take on a different significance. Most importantly, it is helpful to think of institutions that will *promote small scale on a large scale*.

Some people will interpret financial incentives for more localized production as 'subsidies'. However, they should be seen in the context of current subsidies and government investments that favour transnational trade. In the US, for example, $80 billion has been earmarked for highways for the next few years; in New Guinea $48 million was spent on 23 miles of roads that allow timber interests to harvest and bring logs to the export market. Shifting this support towards a range of transport options that favor smaller, more local enterprises would have enormous benefits – from the creation of jobs, to a healthier environment, to a more equitable distribution of resources.



CLAUDE SAUVAGEOT

Ancient wisdom makes modern sense: a local market in Burkina Faso.

Phasing out subsidies for large-scale energy installations would make real resources available for renewable energy supplies, lower pollution levels, reduced pressure on wilderness areas and oceans. Agricultural subsidies favour large-scale industrial agro-businesses: shifting these expenditures towards smaller-scale, diversified agriculture would help family farmers and rural economies while promoting biodiversity, healthier soils and fresher food. Investments in healthcare favor huge, centralized hospitals meant to serve urban populations; spending the same money instead on a greater number of smaller clinics – relying less on high technology and more on health practitioners – would bring healthcare to more people and give a boost to their local economies.

Governments are forced into competition with one another for the favors of corporate vagabonds and try to lure them with low labor costs, lax environmental regulations and substantial subsidies. Instead of 'free trade', a careful policy of using tariffs to regulate the import of goods which could be produced locally would be in the best interests of the majority. Such 'protectionism' is not aimed at fellow citizens in other countries; rather, it is a way of safeguarding local culture, jobs and resources against the excessive power of the corporations.

Across the US, Canada and Europe organizations have sprung up in response to the intrusion of huge corporate marketing chains into rural and small-town economies. Polish activists succeeded in blocking the construction of a McDonald's in an old section of Cracow, and activists in India are working to keep McDonald's from entering that market. In Massachusetts, 'Deli-Dollars' were created to help a local sandwich shop finance a move to a larger location after it had been turned down for a bank loan. Customers who bought Deli-Dollars (redeemable in the future for sandwiches) raised enough capital to finance the store's relocation. Local Exchange Trading (LETS) schemes have sprung up in Britain, Ireland, Canada, France, Argentina, the US, Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand. Around the world people are recognizing the multitude of benefits of linking farmers and consumers more directly – from fresher, healthier food to a reduction in packaging and transport, and therefore less pollution and increased biodiversity as local marketing leads to pressures on farmers to diversify.

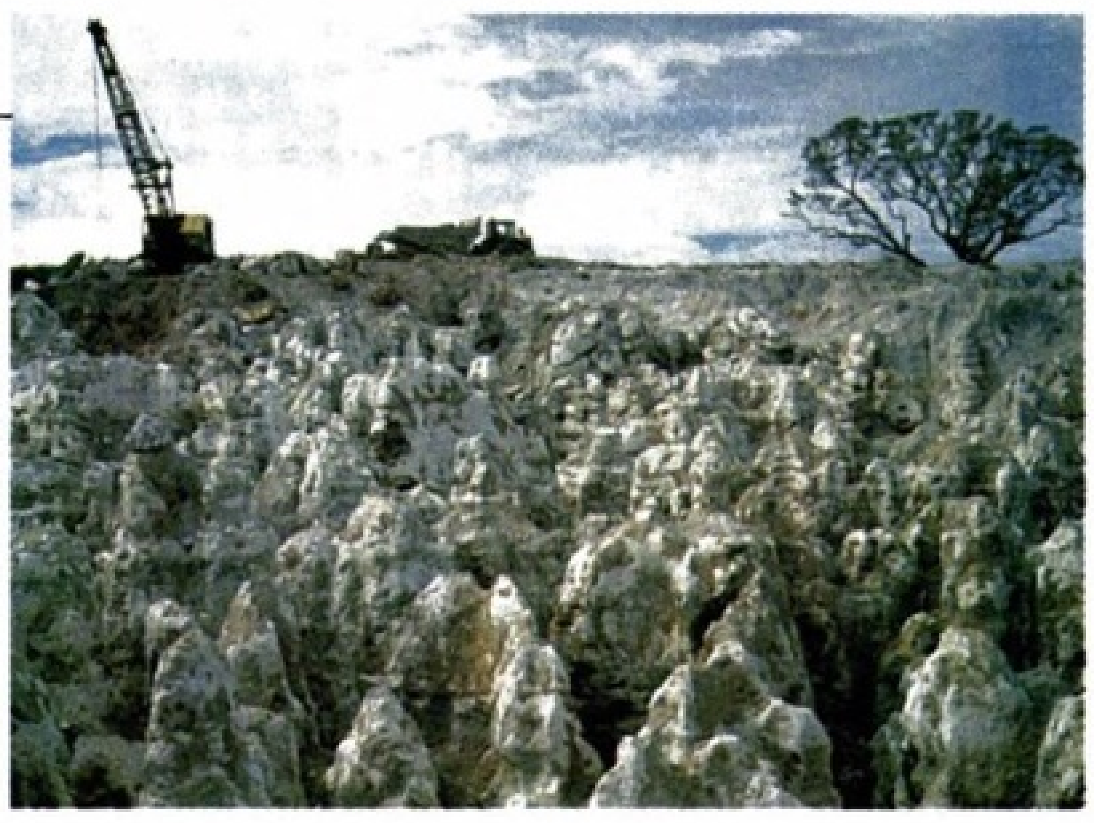
In many countries people are building 'eco-villages' that attempt to get away from the waste and pollution, competition and violence of contemporary city life. Some communities are starting their own schools: rather than educating the young for ever-greater specialization in a competitive, 'jobless growth' economy, they seek to equip their children with the knowledge and skills for a diversified economy which depends primarily – though not exclusively – on local resources. This does not mean that information about the rest of the world is excluded. On the contrary, knowledge about other cultures is an important part of the educational process.

Such economic changes require shifts at a personal level as well. These involve rediscovering the deep psychological benefits – the joy – of being connected to community and place. The globalization of culture and information has led to a way of life in which the nearby is treated with contempt. We get news from China but not next door: our immediate surroundings seem dull and uninteresting by comparison. A sense of place means helping ourselves and our children to see the living environment around us: reconnecting with the sources of our food, learning to recognize the cycles of the seasons, the characteristics of the flora and fauna. Ultimately, we are talking about a spiritual awakening that comes from making a connection to others and to nature. This requires us to see the world within us; to experience more consciously the great, interdependent web of life – of which we ourselves are among the strands. ■

Helena Norberg-Hodge is Director of Policy, International Forum on Globalization, and founder and director of the International Society for Ecology and Culture, 21 Victoria Square, Bristol BS8 4ES.

Country profile

Nauru


ANDY CRUMP

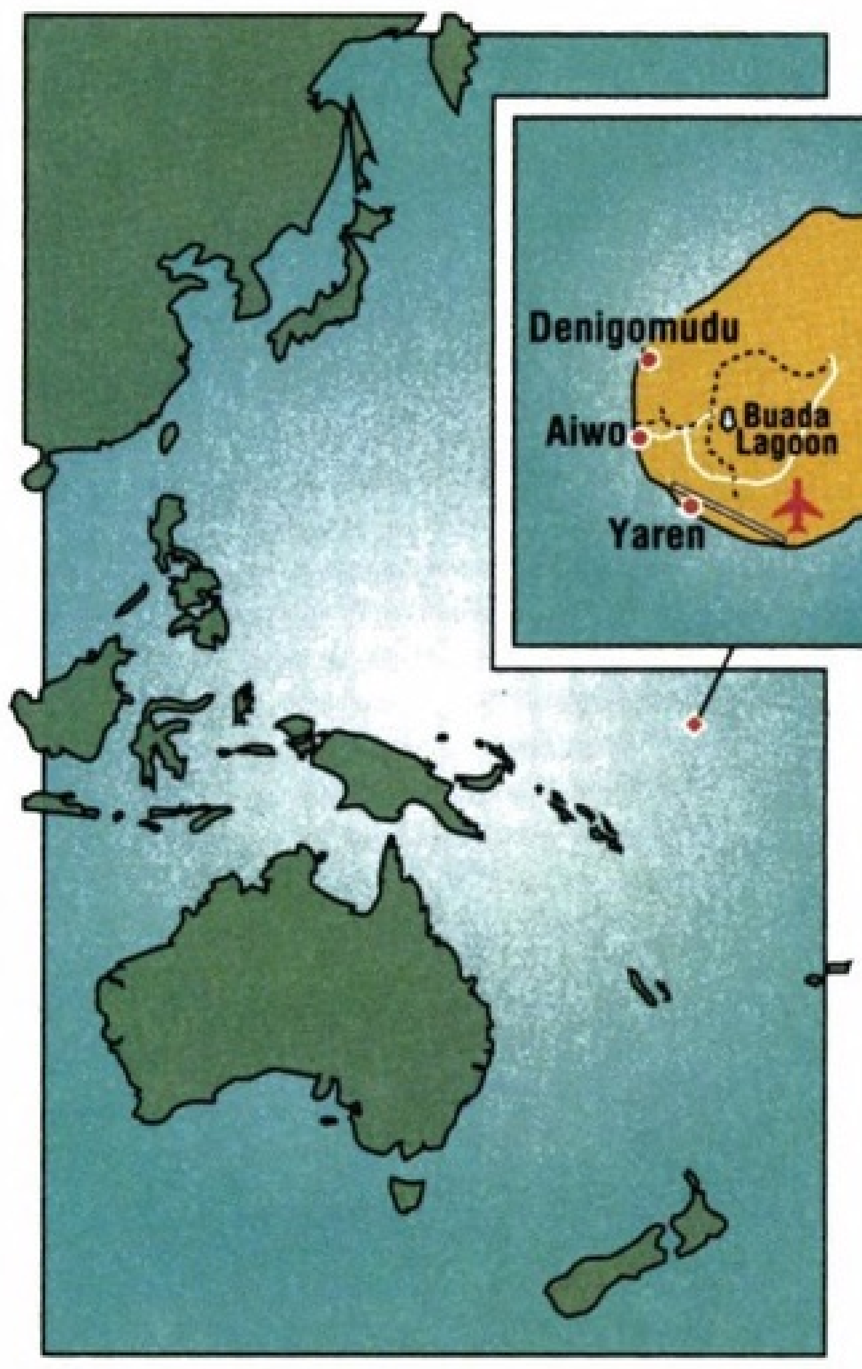
NAURU is one of the world's most fascinating yet least known countries. This island in the central Pacific is one of the world's most isolated – its nearest neighbour (Banaba) is 300 kilometres away. With a land area of only 21 square kilometres, Nauru is the world's smallest independent republic.

Yet it is also, extraordinarily, the richest. Totally undeveloped in the early 1900s, Nauru has flown up the development ladder and now has the highest per-capita income in the world. Its dizzying journey through the development process is based on just one commodity – phosphate.

Phosphate fertilizers are the lifeblood of modern agriculture and the Nauruans have the highest-grade phosphate in the world, so for 70 years or so they have been living on a gold mine. Typically, when mining commenced, Nauruans hardly benefitted, receiving a meagre halfpenny a tonne from the joint colonial administration of New Zealand, Australia and Britain. By 1967, half the reserves had been mined.

In 1968, following years of struggle, Nauru gained independence. From then on, the annual income from phosphates of around $100 million was shared between the Nauru Royalties Trust Fund, Nauruan landowners and the Government. By 1976, the annual tax-free income for every Nauruan had reached $37,000. They can still afford virtually anything they like and their living standards have improved beyond belief. But progress has had a price. Nauru is far from a paradise.

The island has no forests or timber. It has no indigenous mammals. Bird life, which has contributed to the island's wealth since guano is a major source of the phosphate, has been decimated. Mining, which has ravaged the whole interior, turning it into a moonscape (see right), has reduced rainfall by destroying vegetation and creating bare rock. As a result Nauru has to import virtually everything for survival, including almost all its food and fresh water.



At the moment this poses no problem: the Government has money to play with and Nauru leads the world in per-capita public expenditure. Electricity, water, education, medical and dental treatment are all free. The Government even runs an international airline.

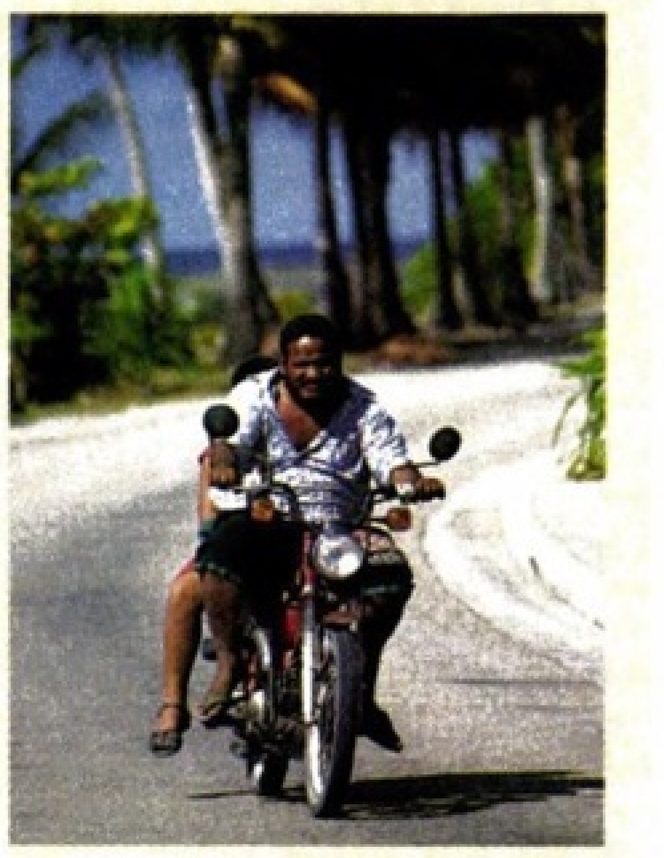
Health, however, is a major problem. Most of the work is done by immigrant labourers, and Nauruans have been suffering as a result of increasing inactivity and a diet of imported, processed food. Obesity is now a major problem: Nauruans are renowned in the Pacific for their bulk. A 1989 survey found that a third of the population were suffering from diabetes (the worst incidence in the world). Heart disease, alcoholism and heavy smoking are also prevalent. Since the early 1970s, traffic accidents have been the major cause of death and disability – on an island with only one 16-kilometre road.

Huge funds have been set up to ensure an income after the phosphate disappears – it is unlikely to last out the century. These should help the islanders to maintain a good living standard. But the funds, estimated to contain one billion dollars, are shrouded in mystery and ripe for plundering. Investments have been made all over the world. But many ventures, including hotels and, bizarrely, the short-lived London show *Leonardo da Vinci*, have lost millions.

Some money is being used well in an attempt to 'recreate' Nauru. In 1987 Nauru took its case for compensation for its lost resources to the International Court of Justice. Australia eventually settled out of court, agreeing to pay $1.7 million a year for 20 years; New Zealand and Britain will each pay eight million dollars. But restoring the island's ravaged interior by filling it with imported soil and compost will cost $230 million over the next 23 years. ■

Andy Crump

AT A GLANCE


ANDY CRUMP

Leader President Lagumot Harris

Economy Still totally dependent on phosphate mining and export, the country's only industry.
Monetary unit: Australian dollar
Main exports: Phosphates (100%)
Main imports: Food and beverages (34%), fuel and machinery (18%), manufactured goods (8%).

People 10,149 (1995 estimate), of whom 8,123 are native Nauruans.

Health Infant mortality 41 per 1,000 live births (Canada 6 per 1,000). The health system is among the best resourced in the world: Nauru leads the world in hospital beds per capita, and is among the leaders in numbers of nurses and midwives per person. Health is, however, ravaged by the diseases of wealth (see above).

Culture Inheritance is matrilineal, with family property being inherited by the eldest daughter. The family unit remains very strong and Nauruans tend to live as one large family. Polygamy is condoned, divorce carries no social stigma, and co-wives and stepchildren have equal status. Few of the islanders leave permanently.
Religion: Christian – Protestant 67%, Catholic 33%.
Languages: English (official), Nauruan.

Sources: *UN Statistical Yearbook, Asia & Pacific 1994; UN Statistics Pocketbook 1995; The Asia & Pacific Review 1995; CIA World Factbook 1995; Far East & Australasia 1996.*

Never previously profiled

NI star rating

EXCELLENT	★★★★★
GOOD	★★★★
FAIR	★★★
POOR	★★
APPALLING	★

STAR RATINGS

INCOME DISTRIBUTION ★★★★★
Wealth is apparently evenly distributed with each adult Nauruan qualifying for around $30,000 royalties annually.

SELF-RELIANCE ★★★★★
Financially secure in the short-term despite the total dependence on imports.

POSITION OF WOMEN ★★★
Society is matrilineal but women hold few positions of authority.

LITERACY ★★★★★
Almost 100%. Education is free and compulsory from 6 to 16.

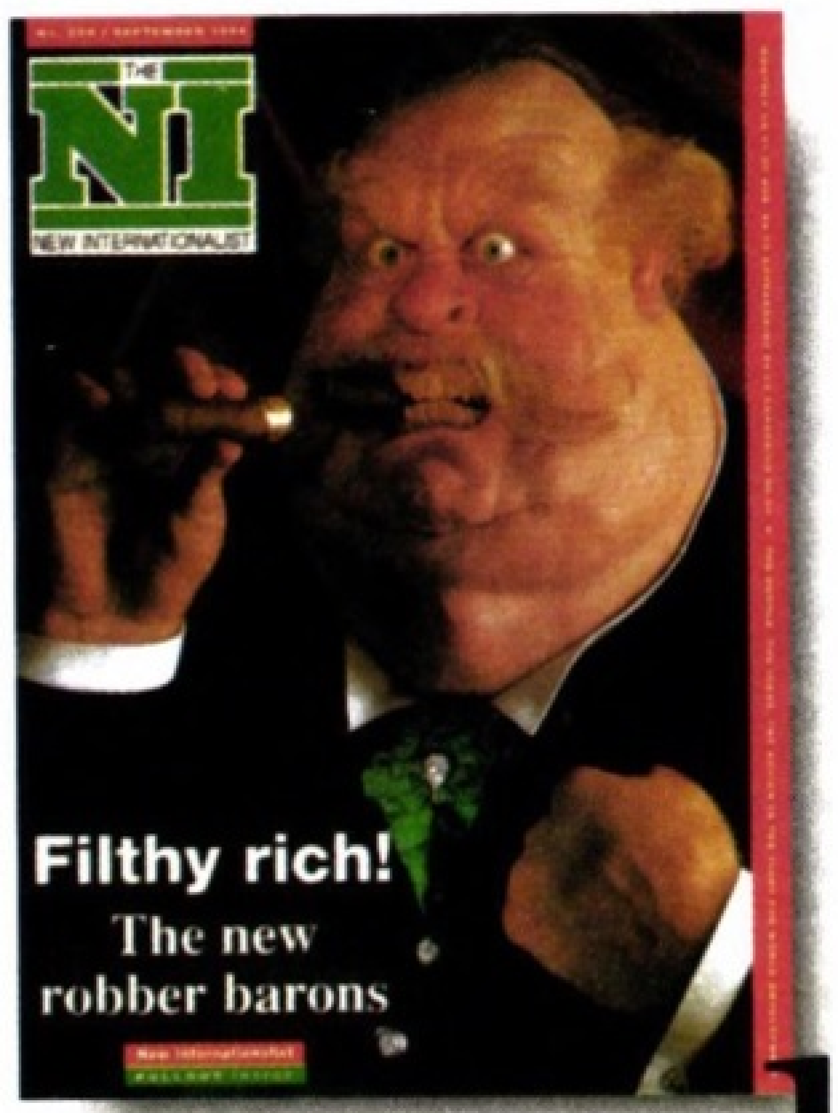
FREEDOM ★★★★★
The constitution protects basic rights and freedoms. Elections are held every 3 years and voting is compulsory for everyone over the age of 20.

LIFE EXPECTANCY ★★★★
67 years (Aotearoa/New Zealand 75 years).

POLITICS

NI ASSESSMENT ★★★
The Government of 18 independent members has fought for the welfare of the people but mismanaged foreign investments. It has vociferously opposed France's nuclear-testing in the South Pacific and campaigned against the global warming that could cause the island to be swallowed by the sea.

More people need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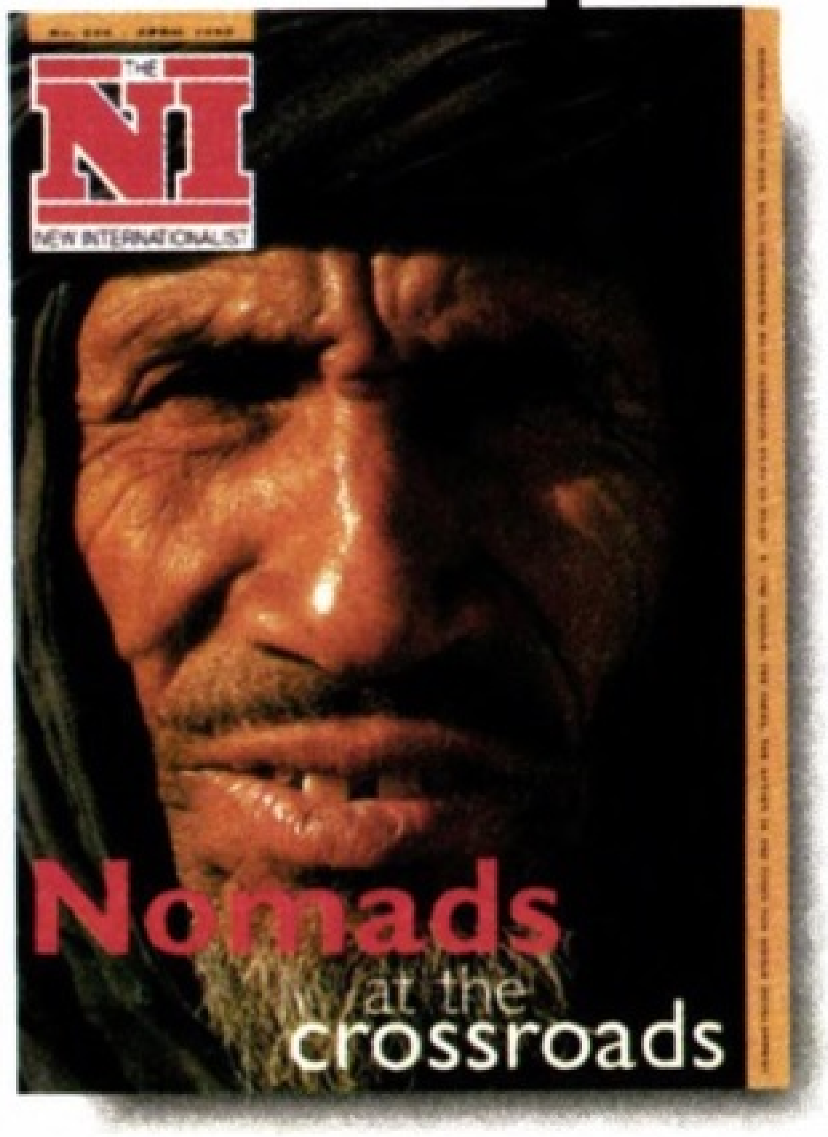
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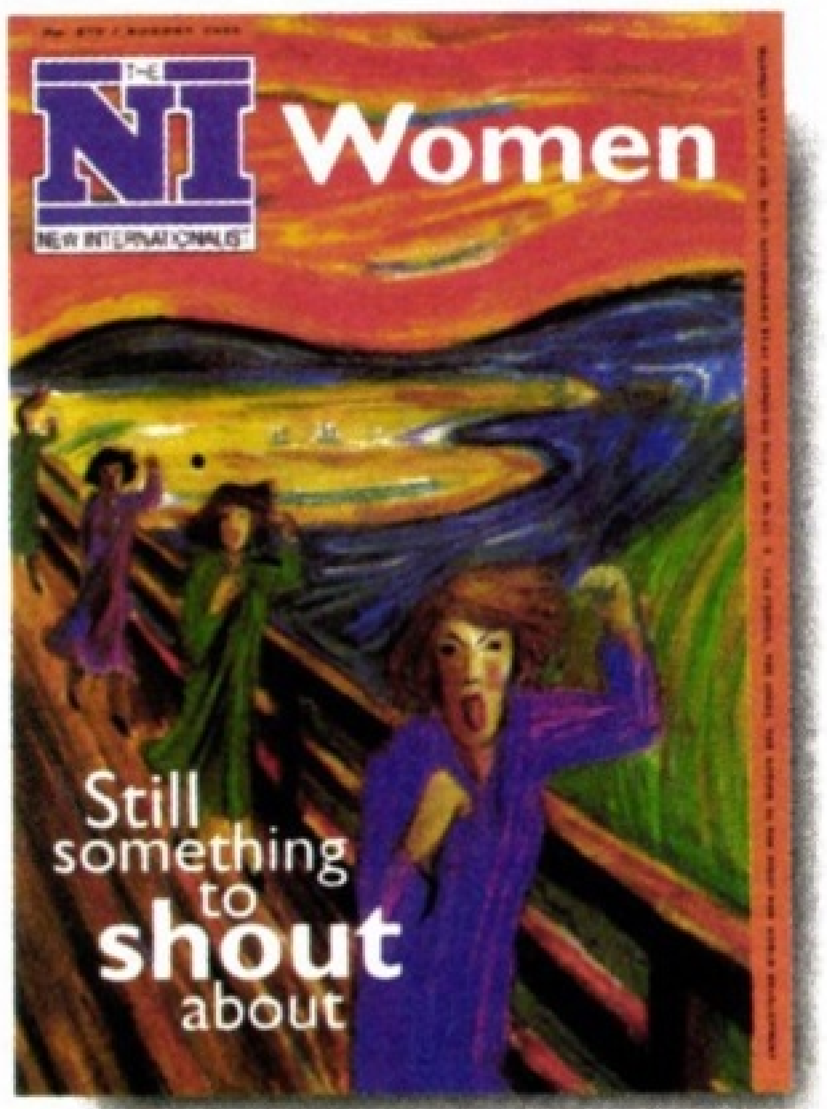
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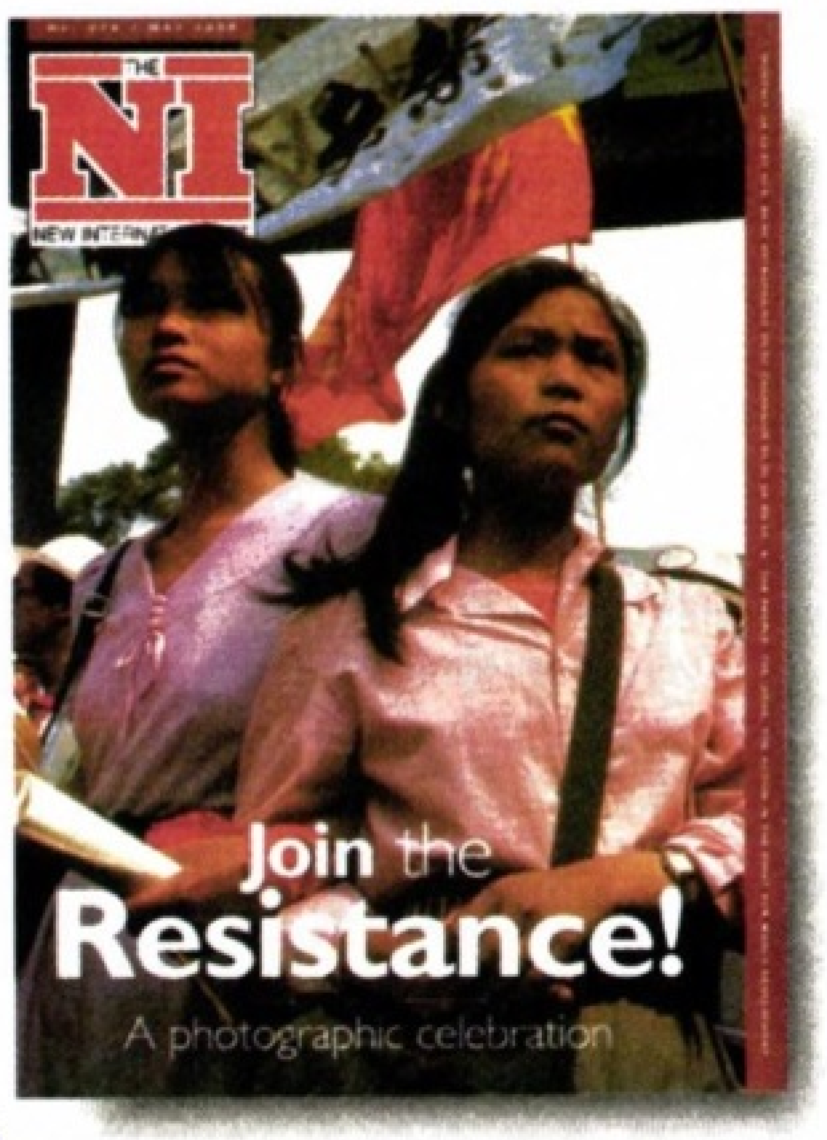
Still something to shout about

to know about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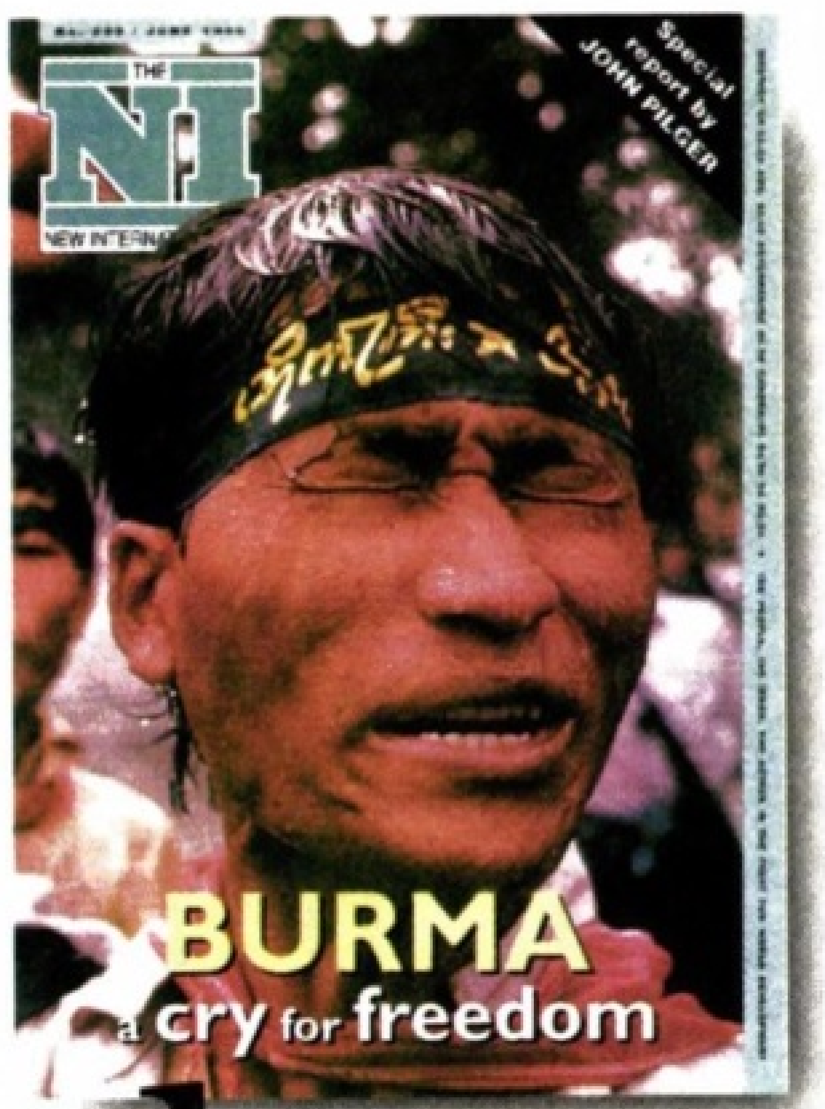
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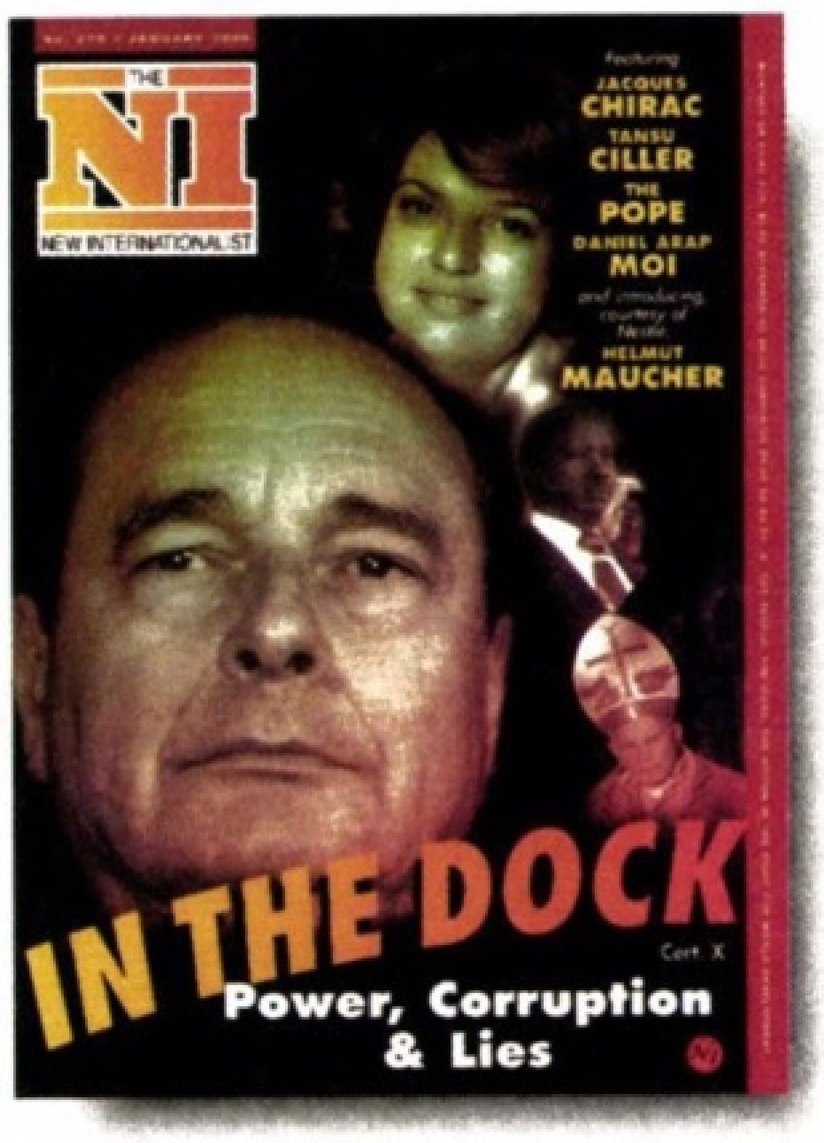
BURMA
a cry for freedom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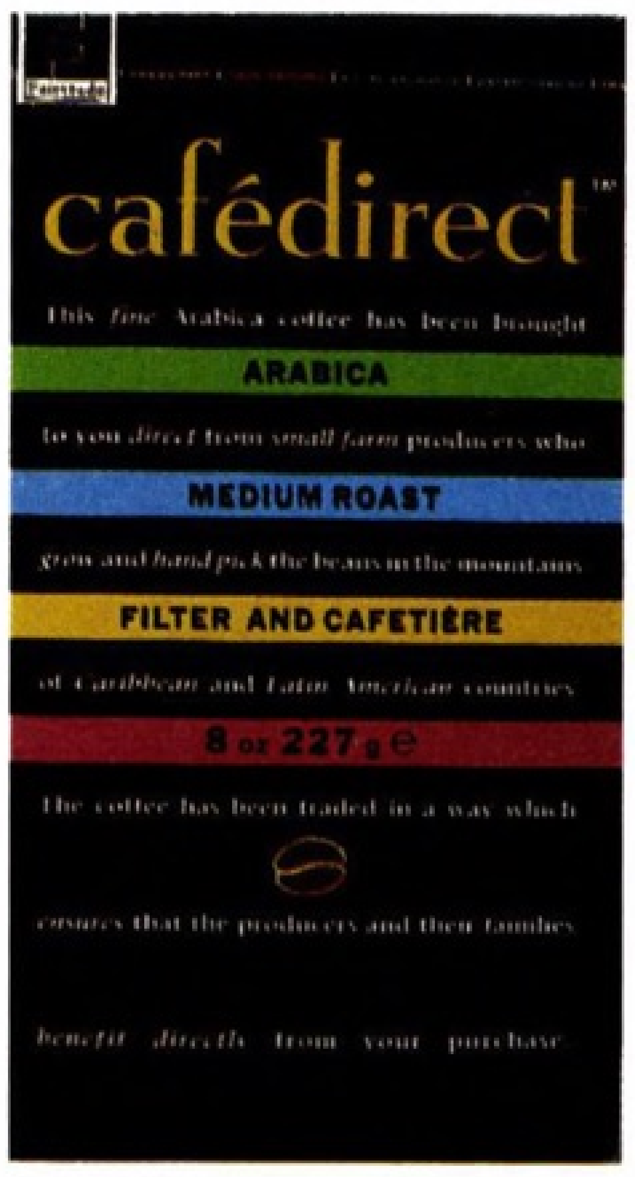
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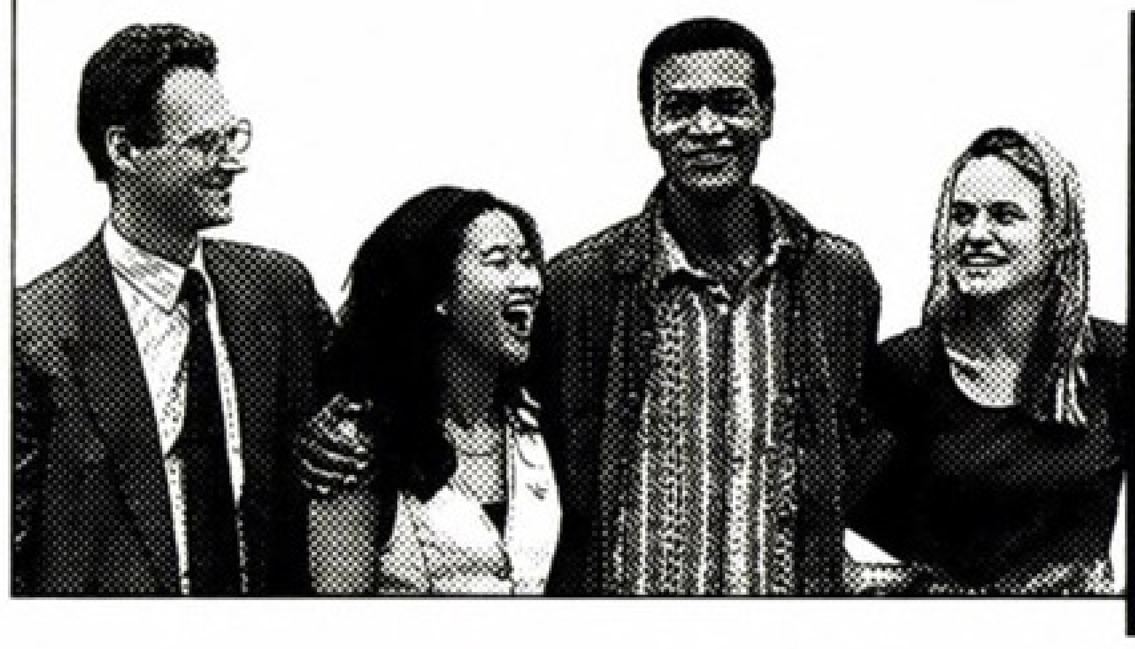

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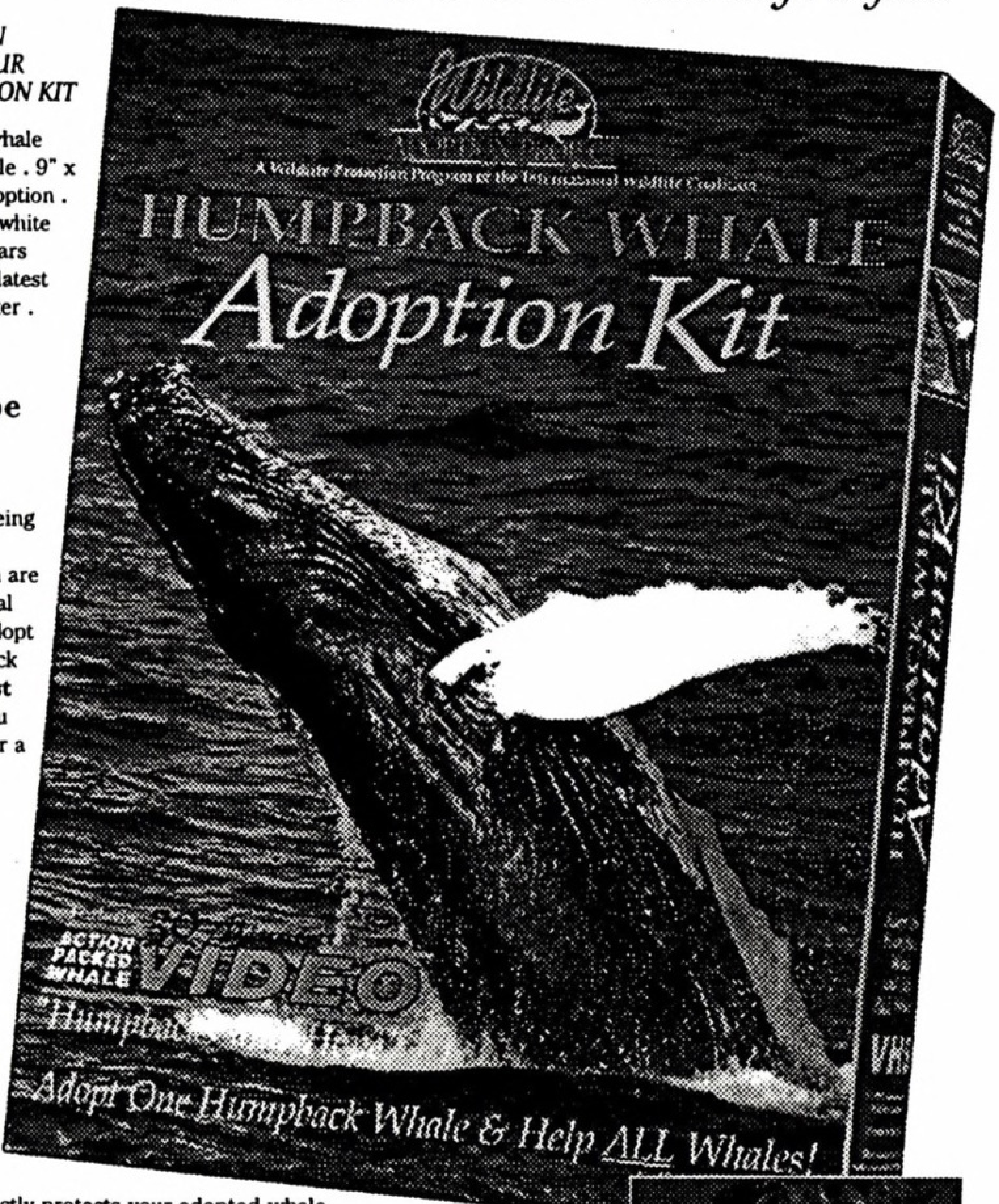
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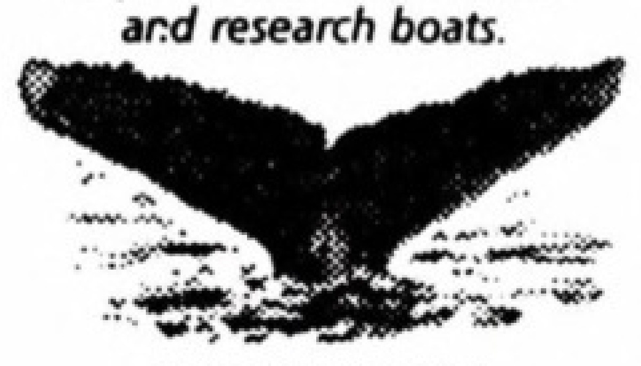
ORBIT

This female was first seen in 1979. She became somewhat of a loner until the birth of her first calf in 1984.

COLT

One of the best known males in the study group, he constantly approaches very close to whale watch and research boats.



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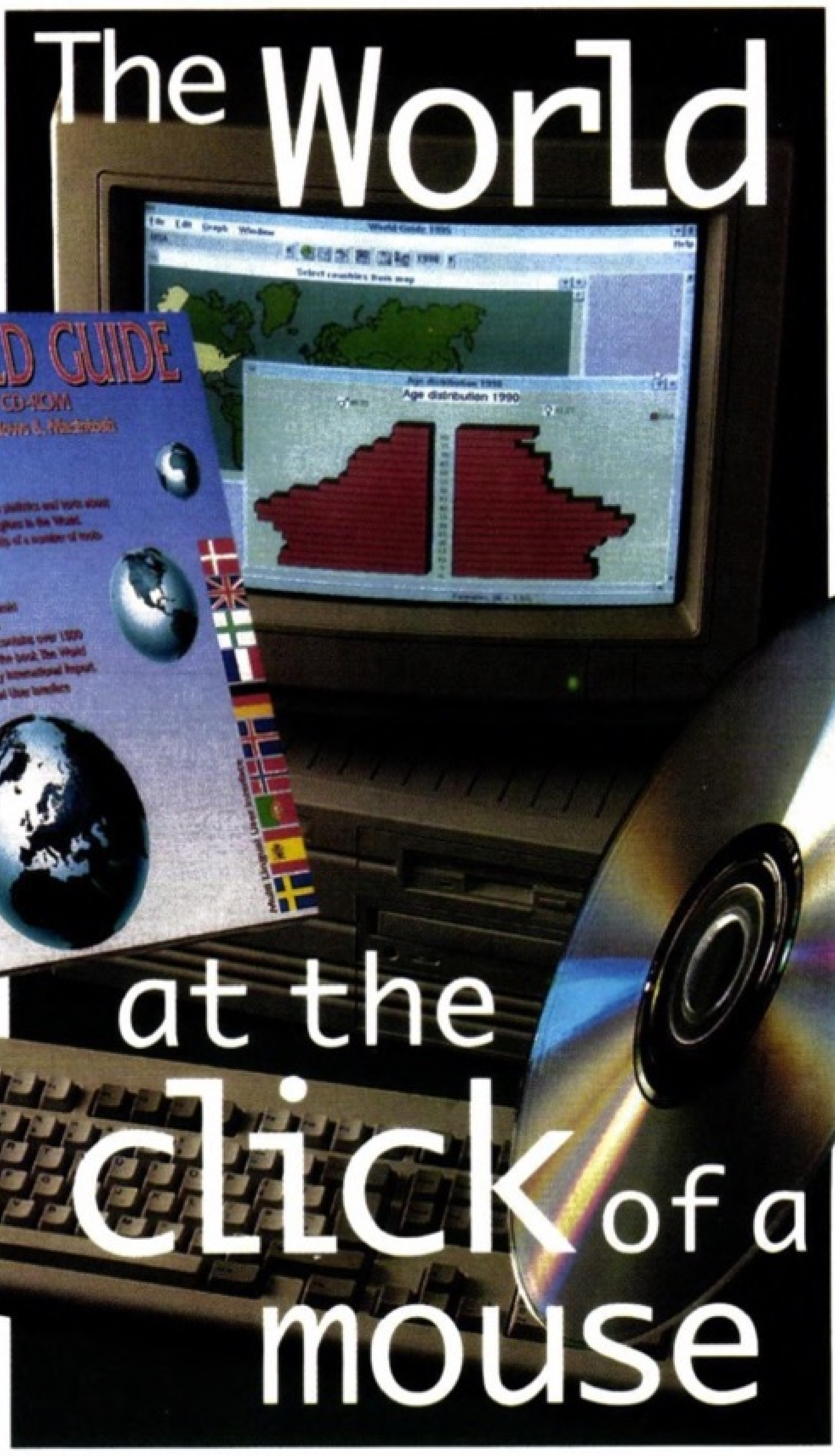

if you take a look around at the CD-ROMs you, your family or students have available, you might notice one thing they all have in common. The content is written from a conventional Western viewpoint. That's why the World Guide CD-ROM is so refreshingly different. It's based on work by researchers and journalists in developing countries, coordinated by the Third World Institute in Uruguay. ***The World Guide CD-ROM is an invaluable and convenient tool to understanding the world from a Southern perspective.***

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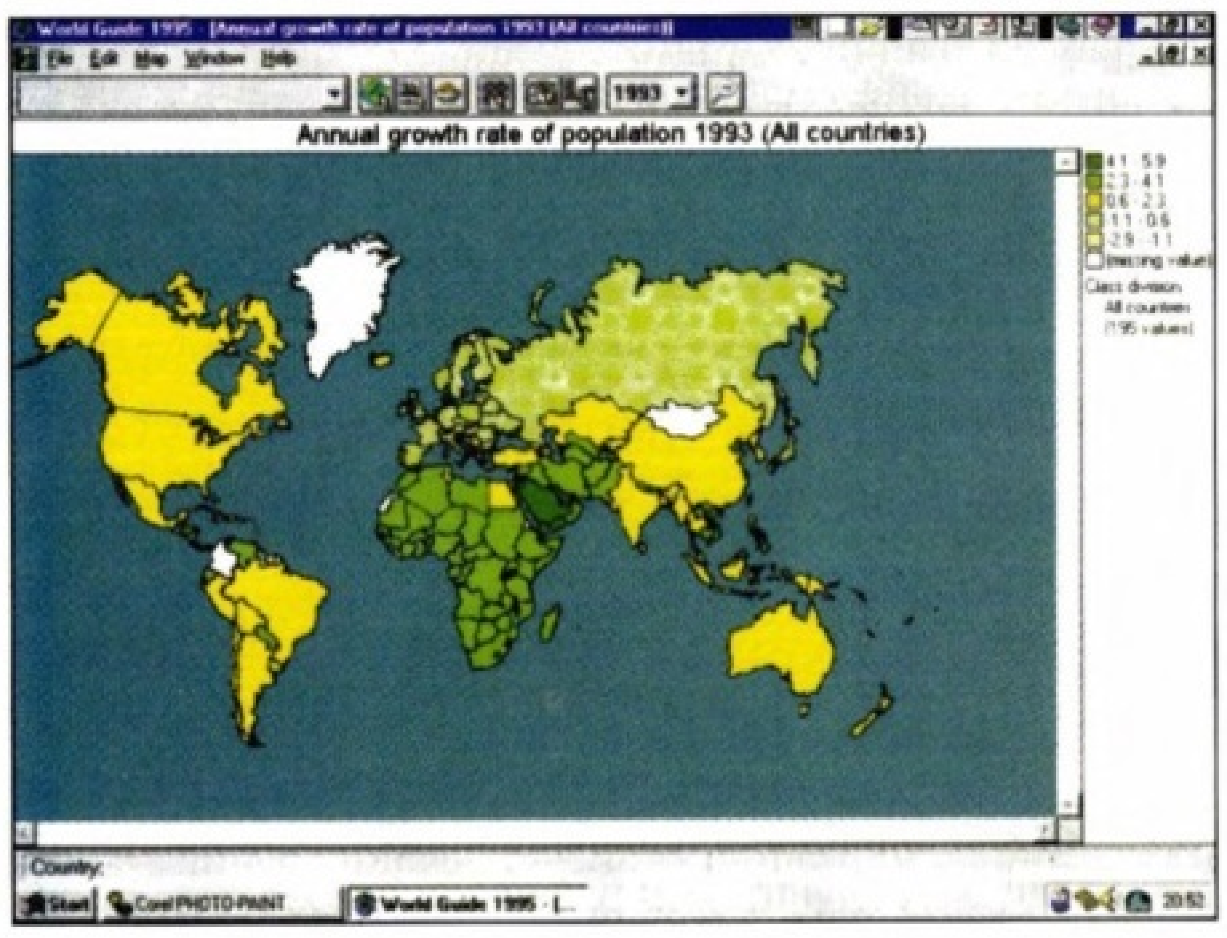
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1993
Annual growth rate of population 1993 (All countries)
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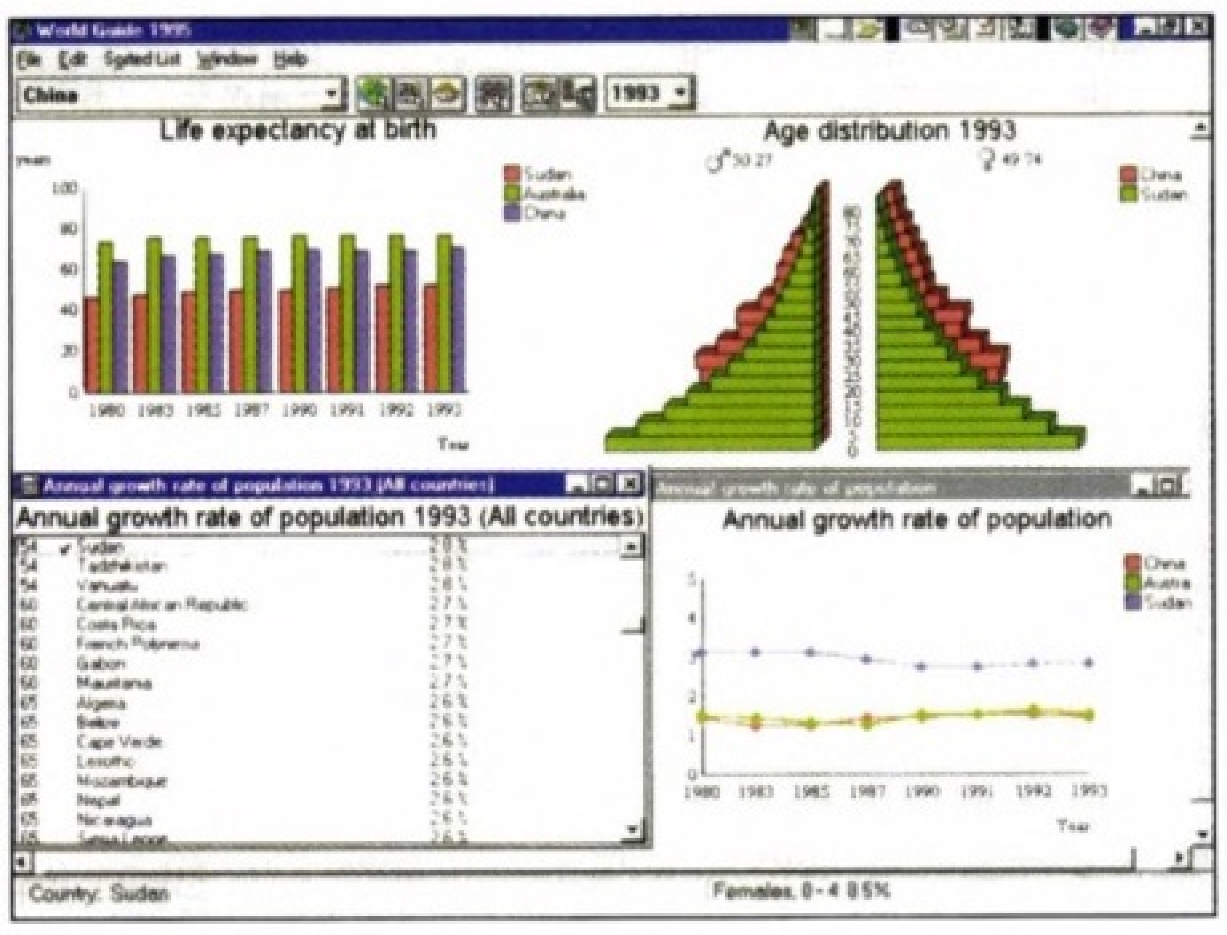
World Guide contains **time-sequence data for over 200 variables** divided into 21 statistical groups such as sex and age, health, agriculture, standard of living and environment. Information is available for every variable in the database, covering the data source, statistical year and some comments on how the variable was calculated. For example, select *Sudan / Health / 1993 / Number of AIDS cases / Information icon* and you will see that the source of the data is the WHO Weekly Epidemiological Record, 14th January 1994.



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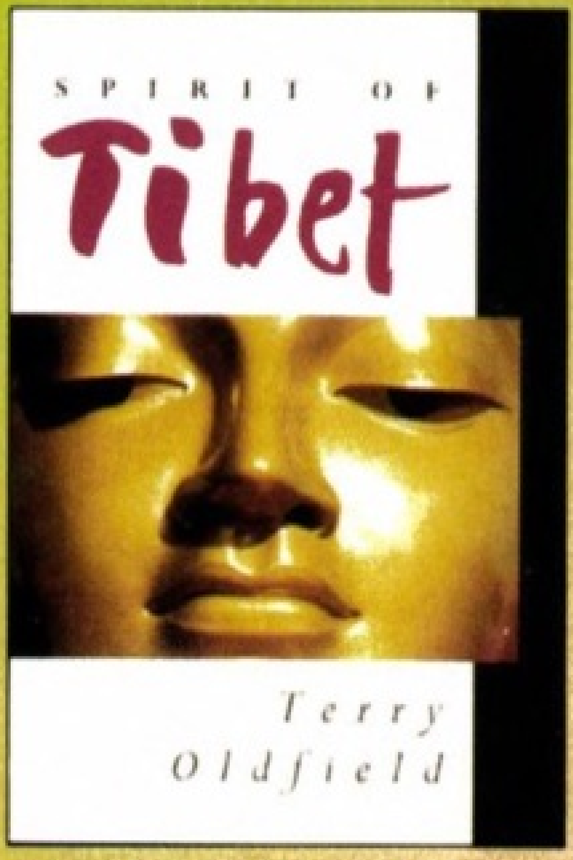

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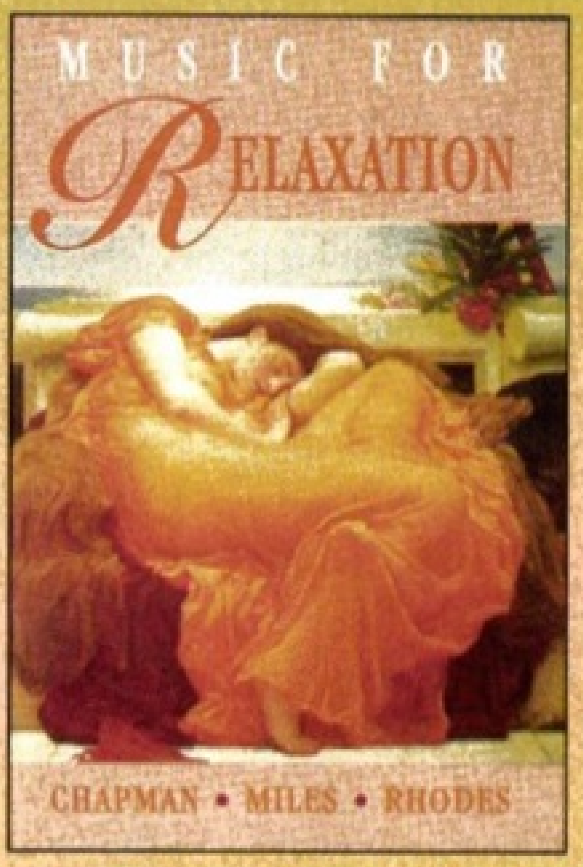

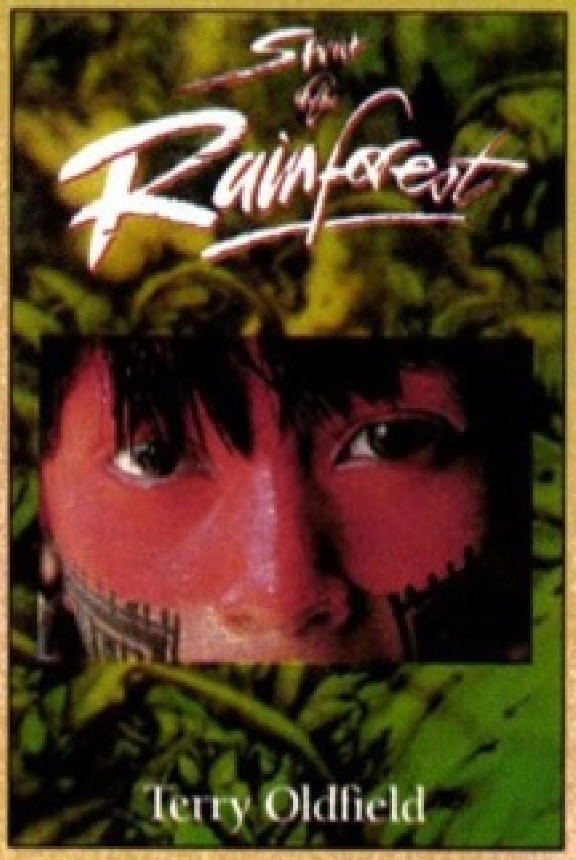

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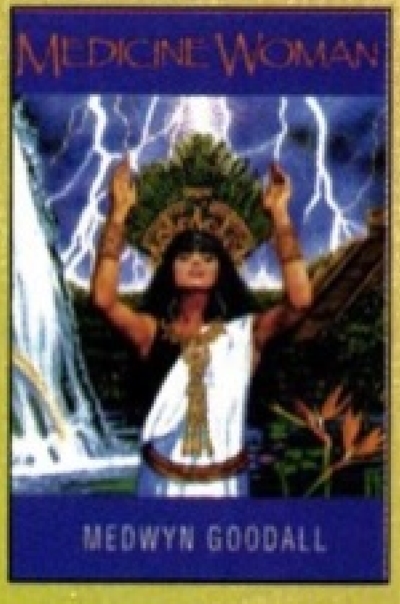

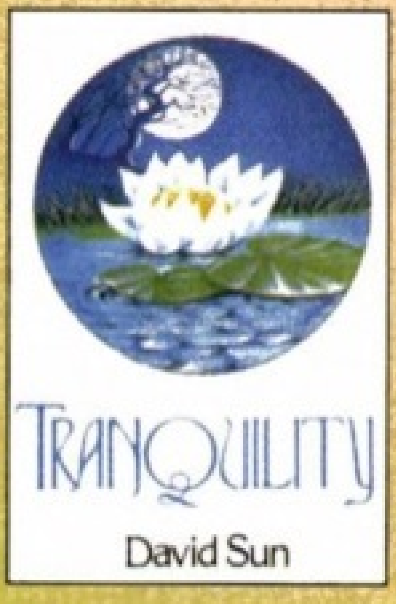

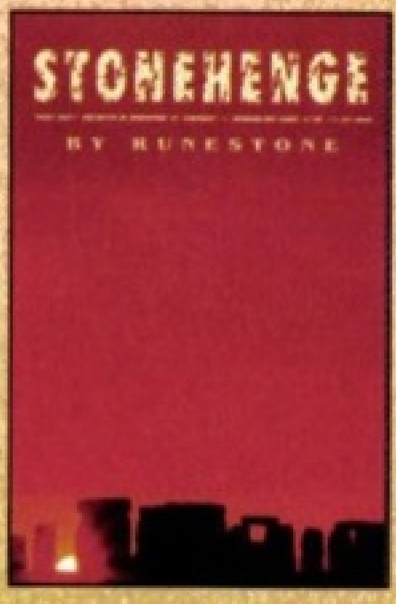

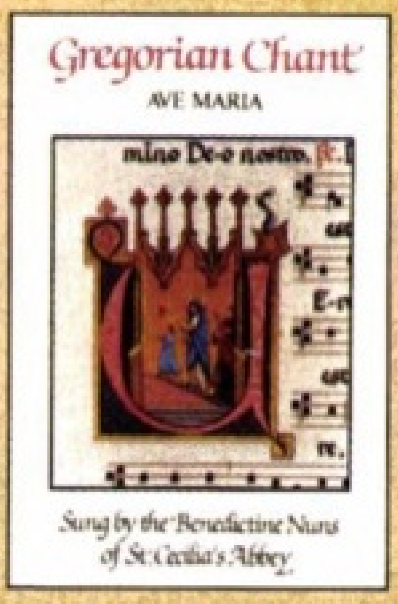

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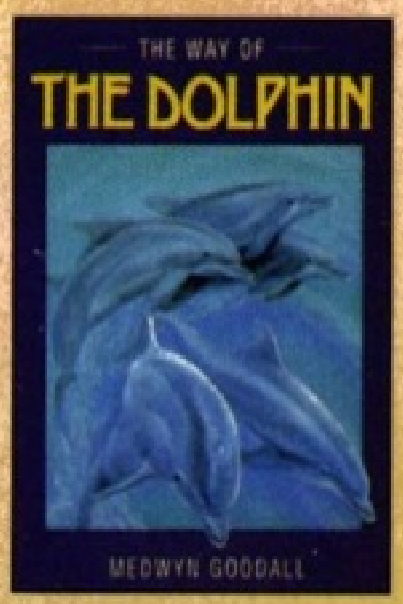

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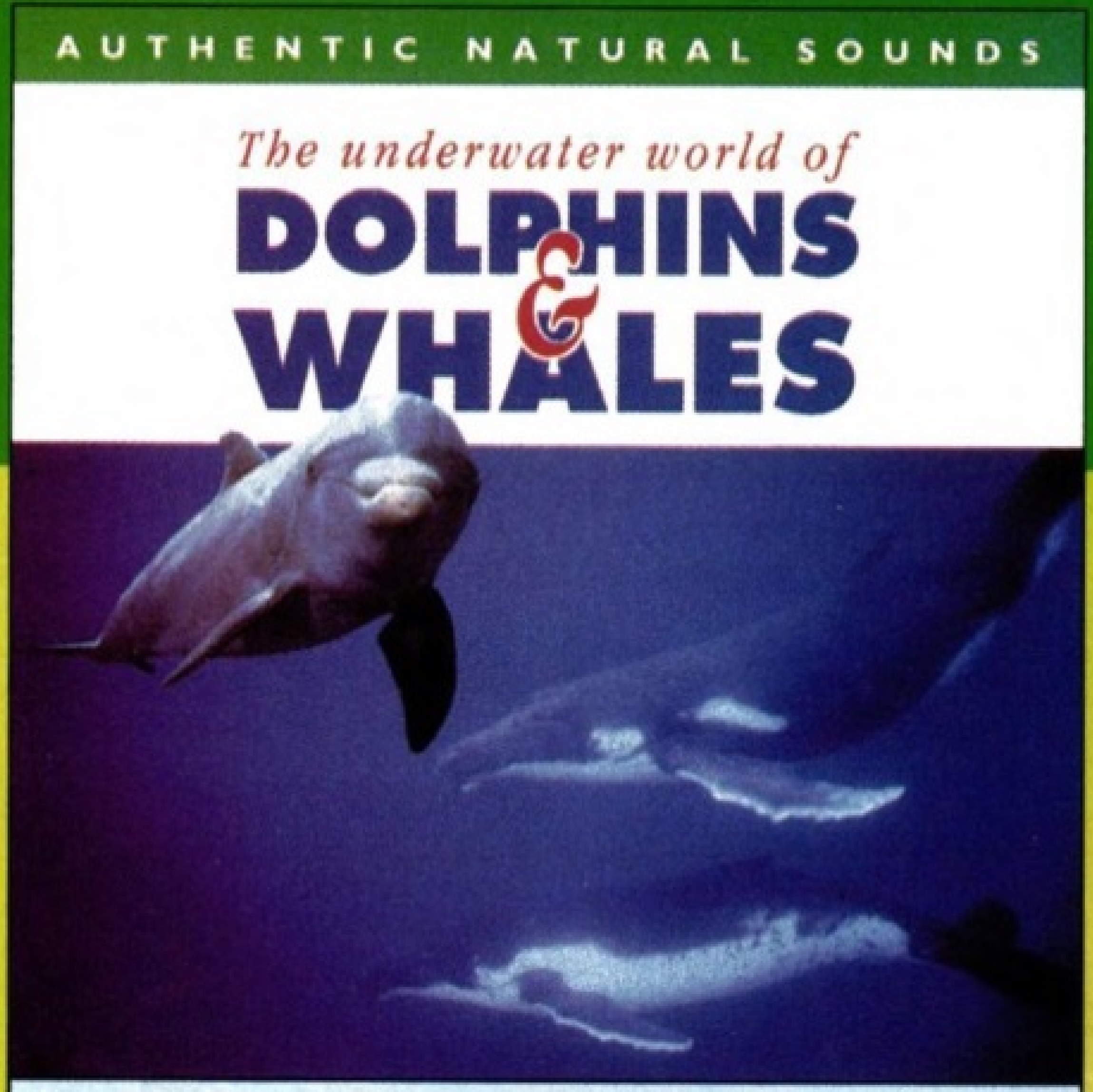

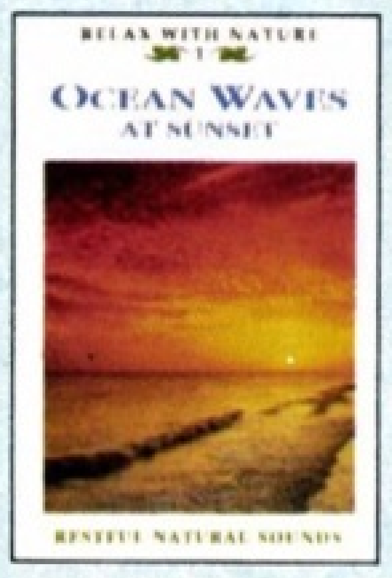

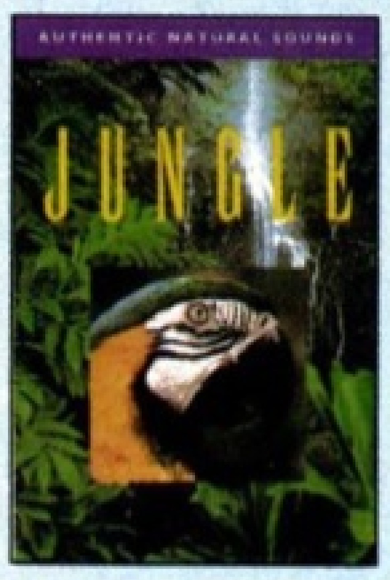

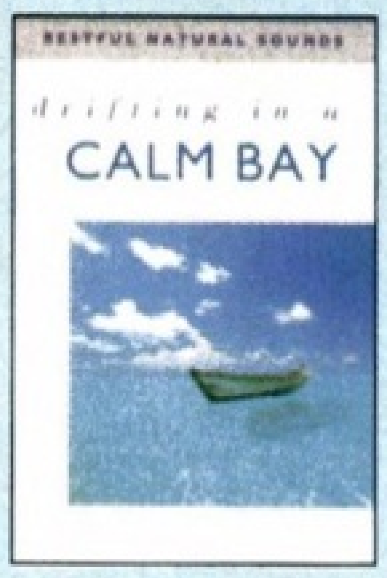

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